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THE NARRATIVE
OF
GENERAL VENABLES

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OF

GENERAL VENABLES

WITH AN APPENDIX OF PAPERS

RELATING TO THE EXPEDITION TO THE WEST INDIES

AND THE CONQUEST OF JAMAICA, 1654-1655

EDITED FOR THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BY

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PREFACE

THE papers printed in this volume are a collection from various sources. It was originally intended to insert them in the Appendix to the third volume of the 'Clarke Papers' in order to supplement and illustrate several documents relating to the expedition to the West Indies which that volume contains (pp. 54, 77, 86, 203). But as these narratives proved more lengthy than at first calculated, it was judged more convenient to print them separately.

First in order of importance and size is the narrative of General Venables himself, consisting for the most part of an apology for his conduct while in command of the expedition, and concluding with an account of his examination and imprisonment after his return to England. Of this narrative there are two manuscripts in the British Museum, one among the collections of Edward Long, the historian of Jamaica (Add. MS. 12429, ff. 7–72). the other among those of Thomas Povey (Add. MS. 11410, ff. 56–143). Both appear to be copies of the same original. Povey's copy is dated at the end May 7, 1677, and is attested as a true copy by Will. Godsalve. Long's copy, which was made in the 18th century, is slightly modernised. In addition to these there is an earlier, briefer and imperfect version of the narrative in the possession of Mr. Lee Townshend of Gorstage Hall, Cheshire. This version was copied by Dr. Gardiner early in 1899, and kindly placed at the disposal of the editor of this volume. It differs a little in phraseology from Long's manuscript, and also in arrangement, concluding with the

conquest of Jamaica, and giving no account of what happened to Venables after his return to England. These different versions have been compared and important differences in the matter noticed. Words misread or omitted in Long's version have sometimes been supplied by the editor from the others.

In his History of Jamaica (3 vols., 1774) Long quotes several passages from the narrative of Venables (i. 615–619). It also formed the basis of 'A Letter concerning the expedition of Penn and Venables against the Island of Hispaniola' printed in Leonard Howard's collection of Letters (1753, 4to). The anonymous author of this 'Letter' mentions his 'perusal of some papers and memoirs of a person of no mean character throughout the action, whose employment gave him opportunity to know all.' This compilation is reprinted in the preface to an edition of 'The Experienced Angler'[1] published in 1827. An extract from the narrative in the possession of Mr. Lee Townshend has been printed in 'Some Account of General Robert Venables, in vol. iv. of the 'Chetham Miscellany' (1871). But neither these extracts nor Howard's unskilful abridgment suffice to supply the place of the original narrative, which is now published *in extenso*.

The object of the narrative is to vindicate the reputation of Venables as a general, and to prove that the disasters which befell the expedition under his command were due to the fault of others. He supports his case by quoting letters written by officers serving in the expedition, some addressed to himself, others to officials or friends in England. Of these letters some are to be found in Thurloe's 'State Papers,' but a large number have not been printed before. The narrative contains also an account of the imprisonment of Venables in the Tower, and of his examination by Cromwell's council. It concludes with a refutation of an anonymous pamphlet published in 1655 and reprinted in the third volume of the 'Harleian Miscellany' (p. 510, ed. Park). This pamphlet

[1] Written by Venables, and first published in 1662, with an epistle from Izaak Walton to the author.

is entitled 'A brief and perfect Journal of the late Proceedings and Success of the English Army in the West Indies, continued until June the 24th 1655. Together with some Queries inserted and answered. Published for the Satisfaction of all such as desire truly to be informed in these Particulars. By I. S. an eye-witness.'

In order to estimate the value of the defence put forward by Venables and the truth of the statements which he makes, his narrative should be compared with the accounts of the expedition written by other officers employed in it. Two such accounts are printed in this volume. One is an anonymous relation, or rather a series of five letters, derived from the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library, and printed in Appendix D. The other is a journal kept by Henry Whistler, who served on board the fleet, and represents the views of the partisans of Penn. An extract from Whistler's journal is printed in the 'Memorials of Sir William Penn' (ii. 31) by Granville Penn, but Whistler is so graphic and picturesque that the whole of his account of the proceedings at Hispaniola and Jamaica seemed to deserve printing as Appendix E. There are two other narratives of the expedition which have not hitherto been made use of by historians. One is the brief account by an officer of Colonel Fortescue's regiment (probably Major Thomas White) printed in the third volume of the 'Clarke Papers' (pp. xix, 54). The other is the long and valuable letter of Lieut.-Col. Francis Barrington, printed in the 'Seventh Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission' (p. 571). When to these are added the documents printed in Thurloe's 'State Papers,' Carte's 'Original Letters,' the 'Memorials of Sir William Penn,' and the 'Calendar of Colonial State Papers,' there are few incidents in the history of the Protectorate about which so much certainty is attainable.

It is unnecessary to discuss the origin of the expedition which Venables commanded. The subject is fully treated by Dr. Gardiner in his 'History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate'

(ii. 447, 471–9), and in an article by Mr. Frank Strong on 'The Causes of Cromwell's West Indian Expedition,' published in the 'American Historical Review' for January 1899. Edward Montague's paper on 'The Grounds of undertakinge the Designe of attemptinge the King of Spaine in the West Indies' and his account of the debate on the subject in the Protector's council on July 20, 1654, show some of the motives which led to the attack on the Spanish colonies ('Clarke Papers,' iii. 203–208).

In his narrative Venables asserts that the motives of himself and his officers were to promote the Gospel and serve their country, and warmly defends the justice of the expedition against the aspersions of I. S. (pp. 5, 88–92). The Protector's declaration published in November 1654, convinced him that Spanish attacks on English colonies in the past supplied a sufficient *casus belli* (p. 90). When he asked to have the justice of the design made clear to him before engaging, he was 'satisfied with this dilemma. Either there was Peace with the Spaniards in the West Indies, or not. If Peace, they had violated it, and to seek reparation was just. If we had no Peace, then there was nothing acted against Articles with Spain' (p. 3).

Venables had served with credit in Lancashire and Cheshire from 1642 or thereabouts to 1648. In 1649 he commanded a foot regiment in the army destined for the reconquest of Ireland, and from September 1649 to the spring of 1654 he served in Ulster, where he long held the chief command of the English forces. Of his services in Ireland he gives some account at the beginning of his narrative (p. 2). In May 1654 he came over to England to represent the views of the Irish officers about the settlement of Ireland, and was then offered the command of the expedition to the West Indies. 'The Western Design,' as it was termed, is first mentioned in the proceedings of Cromwell's council under June 5, 1654 ('Cal. State Papers, Dom.' 1654, p. 201), but it had been under consideration for some months previously. The appointment

of a special committee to make the preparations for the expedition took place on August 18, and as the name of Venables appears in the list of its members, it is evident that he had by this time accepted the Protector's offer (p. 107; cf. Gardiner, 'Commonwealth and Protectorate,' ii. 447, 475). Venables asked for the payment of his arrears, which was ordered on September 2, 1654 ('Cal. State Papers, Dom.' 1654, pp. 213, 357). His commission as general passed the council on December 4, is dated December 9, and is printed in 'Thurloe's State Papers' (iii. 16). His instructions, printed in Appendix A, p. 111, are not dated, but were doubtless drawn up at the same time. The commission to Venables, Penn, Winslow, Searle, and Butler, as commissioners for the management of the expedition, which is also dated December 9, is printed in Appendix A, p. 109. The commission and instructions of his colleague Penn, as commander of the fleet, are printed in the 'Memorials of Sir William Penn,' ii. 21–27.[1]

When Venables was first offered the command, 'I moved,' he says, 'that my friends should not be made more formidable to me than my enemies, by bounding and straitening me with commissions and instructions, which at that distance would serve but as fetters' (p. 4). A perusal of the instructions shows that Clarendon is wrong in describing them as so 'very particular and positive' that the precise place where Venables was to land in Hispaniola was definitely stated ('Rebellion,' xv. 10). The instructions in reality, while stating that the object of the expedition is to 'gain an interest in that part of the West Indies in the Spaniard,' go on to add 'for the effecting whereof we shall not tye you up to a method by any particular instructions, but only communicate to you what hath bin under our consideration.' Different points of attack are suggested, but only suggested, and the decision is left

[1] Penn's commission is there dated Oct. 9, which is possibly an error for Dec. 9. His instructions were certainly not passed before Dec. 9. See Disbrowe's letter to Thurloe, Dec. 7, 1654, suggesting amendments in them. Thurloe, iii. 17.

to be taken by the commanders of the expedition. It was not till some time after the arrival of the fleet at Barbadoes that it was resolved to attack Hispaniola ('Memorials of Sir W. Penn,' ii. 70). On the other hand Venables was, to a certain extent, fettered by the fact that he shared the control of the expedition with various colleagues, with Penn as commander of the fleet, and with three other persons who were commissioners for the management of the expedition. In theory, Penn had complete control of the fleet and Venables of the land forces, while the two, assisted by three other commissioners, were to have the joint management of matters in which common interests and questions of general policy were involved. But the limits of their respective functions were not clearly defined, and Venables bitterly complains that whereas he had thought the commissioners were merely intended to relieve him of the management of civil affairs (like the commissioners employed with him in Ulster), they went beyond their province and claimed a general control of his operations to which they were not entitled (p. 101).

Two out of the three colleagues of Venables and Penn were men of considerable ability, and all three possessed colonial experience of great value. Edward Winslow, the most important of the three, was a man whose ability, character and history admirably fitted him for employment on such an expedition. Born at Droitwich in 1595, he fell in with the Puritan exiles at Leyden in 1617 when he was on his travels, became one of John Robinson's congregation, and sailed with the Pilgrim Fathers in the 'May Flower' in 1620. In 1633 he was chosen Governor of the colony of New Plymouth, to which office he was re-elected in 1636 and 1644 (Young, 'Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers,' p. 274). In 1646 he returned to England as the agent of Massachusetts charged to defend the colony from the slanders of Samuel Gorton and others. On August 5, 1650, Winslow was made by Act of Parliament one of the seven commissioners appointed for compounding with delinquents, at a salary of 300*l.*

per annum. He was suspended from acting in this office in May 1653 because he signed the London petition for the restoration of the Long Parliament, but was reappointed on Jan. 25, 1654 ('Cal. State Papers, Dom.' 1653–4, p. 368; 'Clarke Papers,' iii. 6). Winslow had been frequently consulted on colonial affairs by the Parliament and the Council of State, so that his appointment as one of the commissioners for the West Indian expedition naturally suggested itself to Cromwell. His salary during his employment was fixed at 1000*l.* per annum ('Cal. State Papers, Colonial,' 1574–1660, pp. 419, 439).

From Winslow's letter to Thurloe, written at Barbadoes on March 16, 1655, it is very clear that he was thoroughly trusted by the Protector's government. He was specially enjoined to give 'an impartial character of all things' to Thurloe for the Protector, and accordingly wrote at length that 'his Highness might understand all things as fully as if he had been here' (Thurloe, iii. 249). It is clear also that he exercised great influence on the policy pursued by the commissioners at Barbadoes and elsewhere. He is often mentioned in the Journal of the proceedings of the Fleet, printed in the 'Memorials of Sir William Penn' (ii. 71, 86–88, 91, 95, 96), which also records his death. Shortly after leaving Hispaniola 'Mr. Winslow began to grow bad in health, having complained a day or two before; taking conceit (as his man affirms) at the Disgrace of the army on Hispaniola, to whom he told, it had broken his heart.' He died at sea on the evening of May 7, and on the following day 'being put into a coffin, was heaved into the sea and had the solemnity of forty pieces of ordnance' (*ib.* ii. 98; see also pp. 245, 270, *post*). No greater loss could have befallen the expedition than the death of the only man among its leaders who knew by practical experience how to lay the foundations of a colony.

Daniel Searle, the fourth commissioner, was Governor of Barbadoes from its surrender to Sir George Ayscue in 1652 to the Restoration. He did not personally accompany the expedition,

but his assistance was extremely valuable, not only in the island he governed, but in the West Indies in general. His letters in Thurloe's collection are one of the sources for the history of the expedition and colony.

The fourth commissioner was Captain Gregory Butler. Of his earlier career little is known save the facts stated by himself in a petition addressed to the Council of State shortly before the Restoration. He had served under Essex, Sir William Waller, and Major-General Massey, until the disbanding of Massey's forces, about the end of 1646 (Thurloe, vii. 912). After that he probably went to Barbadoes or some other West Indian colony, and it was doubtless his possession of some local knowledge which led to his appointment as a commissioner. In that capacity Butler proved of very little value. 'We are like to have very little assistance from Captain Butler,' wrote Winslow in March 1655, 'though we all persuade ourselves he is very honest; but hope, yea persuade ourselves, he will take with the better side in case of difference of judgment' (Thurloe, iii. 251). Lieutenant-Colonel Barrington also describes him as an honest man, but want of temper and discretion made him a hindrance rather than a help to his colleagues. 'Truth is, I know not of what use he is, unless to make up a number,' wrote Major-General Fortescue. 'If I may without offence speake it, he is the unfittest man for a commissioner I ever knew employed. I suppose his Highness and Councell had little knowledge of him' (*ib.* iii. 646, 650). Though urgently needed in Jamaica he persisted in leaving for England. 'I confess I did not desire his stay for an opinion of any service he could do,' explained Fortescue, 'but to make up the number of three [commissioners], for he may well be spared, his whole business having been to engender strife and create factions amongst the officers' (*ib.* iii. 675). When he went he refused to take part with the other commissioners in nominating a commander-in-chief to replace Venables (*ib.* iii. 681). In Butler's letter to the Protector, giving an account of the expedition, he attacks

Venables, Fortescue, and Holdipp, but does not explain the reasons why he came home (*ib.* iii. 754). Whatever they were, he escaped punishment, and, from the bitterness which Venables manifests against him, was no doubt one of the general's chief accusers (see pp. 60, 66, 104; 'Portland Papers,' ii. 92; 'Memorials of Sir W. Penn,' ii. 129). The Council of State even thought of sending Butler back to Jamaica, and he subsequently petitioned to be Governor of the island of Tortuga ('Cal. State Papers, Colonial,' 1574–1660, pp. 443, 448, 473, 477).

In his narrative Venables lays great stress on the mischief caused by the interference of the commissioners. The proclamation against plunder, which caused so much discontent in the army, was decided upon by them against his repeated remonstrances (pp. 14, 24, 81, 94). His account of the widespread dissatisfaction which was its result is confirmed by every account of the expedition (pp. 150–152; 'Harleian Miscellany,' iii. 515; 'Seventh Report Hist. MSS. Comm.' p. 572). It was attributed by the army in general to the influence of Winslow's 'always unresistable affirmative' (Thurloe, iii. 505). Venables also complains of Captain Butler for forcing him to take as a guide against his better judgment a certain Irishman, who purposely misled the army in their march to San Domingo (pp. 26, 27). If Venables really suffered Butler to overrule him in this way it is a sufficient proof of his own incapacity as a commander; but it seems to be a worthless excuse. On the whole, the view that the failure of the expedition was caused by the interference of the commissioners is utterly untenable. Venables had sufficient authority if he had known how to use it.

A far more serious obstacle to the success of the expedition than the necessity of consulting the commissioners was the personal ill-feeling which sprang up between the admiral and the general. When the expedition started, Venables and Penn, at the desire of the former, entered into a solemn engagement. 'I desired,' says Venables, 'that there might be that joint affectionate assistance of

each to other in all things as might enable ourselves to discharge our trust, and discourage any that might endeavour to sow division betwixt us' (p. 56). He protests that he was faithful to the spirit of this promise, and that no quarrel about precedency took place between himself and Penn (p. 78). It is pretty clear, however, that Penn himself was from the first disposed to jealousy and inclined to resent supposed encroachments upon his authority. This is clearly shown by the letter which the Protector wrote to Penn just before the expedition set sail. After thanking him for his 'care and industry in this business,' Cromwell continued: 'I doe humblye hope the Lord will have an eye upon this bussines, and will bless it, and therefore if it be his bussines, it will certainely provoake every good heart to eye hym in it, and to be able to overcome everythinge in a man's owne heart that may anywayes lye as an impediment in the way that may hinder the bringinge of it to its perfection. And in this I have full assurance of you, notwithstandinge I have had some knowledge of a little dissatisfaction remeyneinge with you, which I hope by this tyme wilbe removed, and I desire you it may be soe. You have your owne command full and entire to yourselfe, nothing interfeiringe with it, nor in the least lesseninge you. The command at land is alsoe distinct, and there the generall at land must exercise his authoritye, and thus I trust you will both consent to carry on the publique work without hesitation, and God forbid that anythinge in you or hym should in the least hinder that. I hope it shall not, and knowe assuredly upon the experience you have had of me, that I shall be as tender of your honour, and as sensible to uphold you in your quality, as you shalbe to desire me' ('Report on the MSS. of the Duke of Portland,' ii. 88).

The evidence of this letter is further confirmed by the letter which Winslow wrote to Thurloe from Barbadoes. 'When I wrote to you from Portsmouth I told you how easily that soare was cured betweene Venables and Penn, whose demeanor mutually towards every other at sea was sweet and hopefull; but the last of these

two gentlemen is too apt to be taken with such concepts; but I trust all will be well; onely I feare that going hence without our stores some occasion will arise of disturbance between the land and sea forces' (Thurloe, iii. 249).

This fear was justified, for it was precisely over this question of stores that frequent quarrels arose. Venables repeatedly refers to the subject in his narrative (pp. 34, 67, 69, 102). An additional cause of dispute arose when Penn claimed the disposal of the prizes taken at Barbadoes, and endeavoured to withdraw the sale of prize goods from the control of his brother commissioners. Venables hints that this was done in order to embezzle some of the proceeds (pp. 10, 51–55).

According to Venables, he urged Penn to land the troops at the city of San Domingo itself, but Penn refused to make the attempt, alleging a non-existent boom as an obstacle (pp. 18, 22). There is no reference to this incident in other accounts of the expedition, but it is probable that Penn refused on the ground that he must have the harbour sounded first, for after that had been effected he was perfectly willing to make such an attempt, and proposed it of his own accord ('Memorials of Sir W. Penn,' ii. 84, 93). In consequence of this, the army were obliged to land far to the westward of the town, and to make a long march through the woods before attacking it. For this Venables was greatly blamed, but he alleges that the landing at Point Nizao (instead of at Hina Bay, where Drake had formerly landed) was due to the absence of the guides, whom Penn had employed elsewhere, and to the negligence of Penn and Rear-Admiral Dakyns (pp. 18–20, 24, 79, 81, 127, 151). The statement that the landing at so distant a place was due to the absence of the guides, is also made by Commissioner Butler and Major-General Fortescue (Thurloe, iii. 510, 650). Penn, on the other hand, explains that the wind and the sea rendered landing at the place originally chosen impossible.

In a letter written on June 6 he says: 'The place always intended for their landing being Hina Bay, some six or seven

miles west from the town, they could not approach unto it (being a lee shore, and very full of rocks, and the breeze being that day very great and the sea much grown); so that they were necessitated to sail down further to leeward unto the next place, called Point Nicayo, which was more safe, but at least 8 leagues distant from Domingo.' 'The Journal of every days Proceedings in the Expedition of the Fleet,' printed in the 'Memorials of Sir William Penn,' seems to show that the portion of the fleet sent to land the troops had no very definite instruction where to do so, and speaks of some transports 'having no orders where the place of landing was, or what motion to observe on the flagships that went with them, concerning the same' (ii. 81, 82, 110).

Penn retorted by bringing countercharges against Venables. He declared that he offered to assist in the capture of San Domingo with the fleet, but that his offers were rejected. 'He had offered them several times to do with the fleet what they could purpose or desire. He would undertake to batter and render unserviceable the fort (Jeronimo) in four hours; that he would go in before the town with some ships, and batter that, and scour the walls, and clear the way for them to the gates; nay, that he would land their men on the town quay.' These offers, made both before and after the failure of the second attack, were not accepted, and in spite of all he could say nothing could persuade Venables to make a third attempt ('Memorials of Sir William Penn,' ii. 85, 87, 88, 92–96 98). None of these offers of co-operation are mentioned in the narrative of Venables, but the fact that they were made was generally known at the time, and they are referred to in Whistler's Journal (pp. 152, 157–159, 160). Nor does Venables do justice to the great assistance given by Penn and the fleet in the attack on Jamaica (pp. 35, 137, 162).[1]

[1] It is evident that the ill will which existed between their commanders spread to the soldiers and sailors, and that the sailors expressed open contempt for the soldiers and their leader (pp. 32, 56, 68, 101; cf. Thurloe, iii. 507; *Memorials of Sir William Penn*, ii. 105.

The Protector apparently regarded Penn and Venables as equally blameworthy, for he sent both to the Tower when they returned from Jamaica, on the ground that they had left their commands without leave, and he never employed either of them again. Venables gives a long account of his examinations and his imprisonment (pp. 75–87). He concludes by complaining bitterly that, whereas Penn had urged him 'not to yield to acknowledge any fault,' and promised that he himself never would do so, the admiral, nevertheless, was the first to submit and obtain his liberty (p. 87).

Mistakes in the conduct of the attack on Hispaniola, and quarrels between the leaders of the expedition were, however, not the only reason for its failure. The Protector's government was responsible for the errors in the organisation of the expedition, for its defective equipment, for the bad quality of the army placed under the command of Venables. The preparation of great expeditions beyond seas and the conditions of successful colonisation were subjects of which the Protector's councillors knew little. But the carelessness and want of forethought shown in this particular instance were extremely discreditable to all concerned.

The force with which Venables sailed from England consisted of five regiments of foot. A list of the officers of these regiments and of the general officers and staff, drawn up about December 1654, is printed in the 'Calendar of Colonial State Papers,' 1574–1674, Addenda, p. 90. A later list, drawn up in the following March, when the expedition left Barbadoes, is printed in this volume as Appendix B (p. 116). It is taken from the MSS. of the Duke of Portland, and the Society is indebted to Dr. Gardiner for a copy of it.

In addition to these five regiments Venables had under his command a company of reformados, numbering 100 men ('Cal. State Papers, Dom.' 1654, p. 398); a troop of horse, consisting of 60 men besides officers (*ib.* pp. 405, 410); about 50 artillerymen;

and a company of 120 firelocks (see p. 122, *post*). It is possible, however, that the two last detachments may have been raised in Barbadoes.

It was originally intended by the Protector to send 3,000 men to the West Indies, but according to Venables the force which actually embarked was not more than 2,500 in number. The five regiments, therefore, must have numbered less than 500 men apiece (pp. 9, 107). The colonels commanding these five regiments were Venables himself, Major-General James Heane, Colonel Richard Fortescue, Colonel Anthony Buller, and Colonel Anthony Carter. All had seen considerable service. Heane had served chiefly in the West of England under Massey and other local commanders. From May 1645 to 1646 he was major in the regiment of horse commanded by Colonel FitzJames ('Cal. State Papers, Dom.' 1645–7, p. 488). In 1647 he was Governor of Weymouth. On May 22, 1650, he was authorised to raise a regiment of foot. In October 1651 he commanded the expedition which assisted Blake's fleet to reduce Jersey ('Clarke Papers,' ii. 228). Heane was an ardent Puritan, and his religious enthusiasm is freely expressed in several letters contained in volume xvii. of the 'Clarke Papers' in Worcester College Library.

Fortescue was a still more experienced soldier. He had been a lieutenant-colonel of foot in the army under Essex at the beginning of the campaign of 1644, became colonel later in the year, and commanded a regiment in the New Model from 1645 to 1647. In the dispute between army and Parliament in the summer of 1647 he took part with the latter, lost his commission, and was superseded by Colonel John Barkstead. Thus he had been for seven years unemployed when he was offered a command in the expedition. Owing to debts and a lawsuit, his private affairs were in a very unsatisfactory condition, and it is evident that the hope of obtaining the payment of the arrears due to him for former services was one of his motives for accepting the offer (Thurloe, iii. 649, 675). Another motive was religious zeal. 'We have

encountered and waded through many hardships and difficulties,' he wrote from Jamaica, 'but all's nothing so as we may be instrumental to propagate the gospel' (*ib.* iii. 651). When Heane was killed Fortescue succeeded him as major-general, and on June 24, 1655, he succeeded Venables as Commander-in-Chief, but as Commissioner Butler refused his concurrence the validity of the appointment was rather doubtful (*ib.* iii. 581, 650, 681). It is one of the points upon which Venables thinks it necessary to defend his action (pp. 66, 103). Fortescue was highly commended by Cromwell for accepting the responsibility. 'I do commend,' wrote the Protector, 'in the midst of others miscarriages, your constancy and faithfulness to your trust in every [place] where you are, and taking care of a company of poore sheepe left by their shepheards; and be assured that as that which you have done hath been good in itselfe, and becomeinge an honest man, so it hath a very good savour here with all good Christians and all true Englishmen, and will not be forgotten by me, as opportunitie shall serve' (Thurloe, iv. 633). Fortescue was a popular officer, and in one of his letters to the Protector says, 'I have reason to thank God for the large interest I have in the affections of the army, without which I should have no desyre of governinge such a body, being left in such disadvantages' (*ib.* iii. 675; cf. iii. 159). He died in October 1655, a few days after the arrival of Major Sedgwick with reinforcements from England (*ib.* iv. 153).

Several petitions addressed by his widow to Cromwell and to Charles II. are among the State Papers ('Cal. State Papers, Dom.' 1655–6, pp. 246, 292; 'Cal. State Papers, Col.' 1661–8, p. 52).

Anthony Buller, the colonel of the fourth regiment, seems to have served in the Parliamentary forces in the West of England during the First Civil War. He was Governor of Scilly after the capture of the islands by Batten in September 1646, but two years later his men mutinied and declared for Charles II. (cf. p. 93; 'Cal. Clarendon Papers,' i. 332). After that he remained for some

time unemployed. In the spring of 1654 a French physician called Naudin on behalf of de Baas, the French agent in England, applied to Buller in order to get up a mutiny among the discontented portion of the army, but Buller revealed the intrigue to the government (Thurloe, ii. 352; cf. Gardiner, 'Commonwealth and Protectorate,' ii. 437). To this possibly he owed his employment in the expedition. Buller is thus characterised by Scoutmaster Berkenhead in a letter from Barbadoes: 'The gentleman himself is stout, loves applause and flattery, and if there be any persons that would seeme to disrelish our general's proceedings, something he hath to say on their behalfs, and all the reason I could ever find, he judgeth himself the elder collonel' (Thurloe, iii. 159). Venables complains that Buller intrigued with Commissioner Butler and some discontented officers against him after the army had landed in Jamaica (pp. 61–66). He also states that the failure of the first attempt to take the city of St. Domingo was partly caused by Buller's disobedience to his orders, which were that Buller was not to advance against the city after landing, but to wait till the rest of the army came up (pp. 21, 22, 27, 30). On the other hand, Buller is very warmly defended by Lieutenant-Colonel Barrington of his own regiment, and was selected by the council of officers in July 1655 to represent the wants of the army to the Protector. 'My collonel,' says Barrington, 'is ordered by the councill of the army to wayt on his Highness on our behalfe; he is a gentleman of experienced fidelitie to us, and hath stood up faythfully for the advancement of the present expedition, yet whatsoever he or the other two collonels sayd or desyred, yet the general would do what he pleased' (Thurloe, iii. 647). In this letter and in a long and valuable narrative, printed in the 'Seventh Report of the Historical MSS. Commission,' (pp. 571-5), Barrington explains Buller's part in the expedition, and alleges that if his advice had been followed by Venables the result would have been more successful than it was. Cromwell, at all events, appears to have been fairly satisfied with Buller's conduct.

Andrew Carter, the colonel of the fifth regiment, was an officer of less ability than Fortescue or Buller, and one of whom the accounts of the expedition say very little. He had been lieutenant-colonel of Lambert's foot regiment when Cromwell invaded Scotland, but left the army in disgrace about July 1651. 'Lieutenant-Colonel Carter,' says a letter from Cornet Baynes dated July 5, 'is gone off, and will not stay till his articles come forth.' 'Tippling,' according to Baynes was the main charge against him ('Letters from Roundhead officers in Scotland,' Bannatyne Club, pp. 13, 26). Carter had presumably cured himself of this fault; certainly no such charge is alleged against him in 1655, and he is vaguely praised as setting a godly example (Thurloe, iii. 159). He died about the same time as Fortescue (Thurloe, iv. 153, 455).

Among the staff officers and regimental officers there were a considerable number of veterans, and a certain number of men of ability. None were taken, says Venables, but such as had good recommendations from ministers of state or officers of the army (p. 91). 'There were some godly men, eminent for their piety and valour and services in their country . . . and the major part of the officers were civil,' *i.e.* well conducted, 'though not able and fit for employment . . . though they had good men to recommend them, as is said, and had served the state' (p. 92). In another passage he complains of 'lazy dull officers that have a large portion of pride, but not of wit, valour, or activity' (p. 50). 'We had,' says Captain How, 'a great many of bad commanders as well as bad soldiers' (pp. 41, 42). Adjutant-General Jackson was an example (pp. 33, 92). The chief fault of the officers was their neglect to maintain discipline among their men; they admonished when they ought to have punished (pp. 84, 101; but see pp. 45, 91). 'There is no discipline at all, but every one doth what he lists, and the officers as bad as the men,' was the explanation of the defeat in Hispaniola which was given by an officer' ('Memorials of Sir W. Penn,' ii. 90). As the burden of the fighting and the fatigues of

the campaign fell heaviest on the best officers, death very rapidly reduced the number of capable and trustworthy officers, and their places were difficult to fill. 'We cannot but be sensible,' wrote Vice-Admiral Goodson and Major Sedgwick to the Protector in January 1656, 'of the state and quality of the commanders in general, men of no great high natural parts, and by much and long sickness parts and qualities both impaired and weakened' (Thurloe, iv. 457).

The greatest difficulty Venables had to contend with, and the greatest defect in the organisation of the expedition, was the inferior quality of the soldiers comprising his army. He wished, as he tells us, that the soldiers intended for the expedition should be drawn from the Irish Army, and it would have been better if the Protector and his council had accepted this proposal. It was quite feasible, for the army in Ireland was larger than necessary, and both in 1653 and in 1655 many regiments were disbanded (see Ludlow's 'Memoirs,' ii. 360, 415, ed. 1894). Probably the plan was rejected because the Protector for political reasons desired to settle these disbanded soldiers in Ireland. Whatever the motive, the nucleus of old soldiers required for the army placed under the command of Venables was supplied, not by volunteers, but by drafts from the regiments in England, where a similar reduction of forces was taking place. The men thus drafted were naturally, as Venables points out, not the best men in the regiments but 'the most abject in all companies, and raw fellows that were freely taken in to save their old standers' (pp. 5, 91, 100). The number of men thus brought together was not more than 2,000, and probably less. There are orders respecting their pay among the State Papers, but no precise statement there as to their number ('Cal. State Papers, Dom.' 1654, pp. 397, 400, 404). 'We had not above one thousand old soldiers in our army,' says Captain How (p. 44). The deficiency was supplied, according to one account, by impressing recruits of the most unpromising kind.

'Drums were also beaten up for such voluntary soldiers as were

willing to serve the commonwealth beyond sea; which gave encouragement to several who go by the name of hectors, and knights of the blade, with common cheats, thieves, cutpurses, and such like lewd persons, who had long time lived by the sleight of hand, and dexterity of wit, and were now making a fair progress unto Newgate, from whence they were to proceed towards Tyburn; but, considering the dangerousness of that passage, very politicly directed their course another way, and became soldiers for the state. Some sloathful and thievish servants likewise, to avoid the punishment of the law, and coveting a yet more idle life followed after in the same path; there were also drawn forth, out of most of the old standing regiments, such as were newly enlisted, to complete the number. For those who were better principled, and knew what fighting was, were (as it should seem) reserved for a better purpose, some few only excepted; which were as a mixture of little wine with much water, the one losing its proper strength and vigour, and the other thereby little bettered' ('Harleian Miscellany,' iii. 513).

Such being the composition of the force he brought with him from England, Venables was justified in the complaints he makes in his narrative (pp. 40, 42, 44, 92, 93). He repeats them in a letter to Thurloe on June 13, 1655, saying: 'I am confident had wee raised men all over England at the adventure, wee should have been better fitted than by those assigned us' (Thurloe, iii. 545). All the field officers of the army in their representation of July 18 make a similar complaint (*ib.* ii. 661; p. 65, *post*).

The haste with which this miscellaneous collection of men was embarked increased the difficulty of organising an army out of them. Venables complains that no general muster of the army before its embarkation was permitted (p. 6). There was but little time for drilling them, and they are summarily described as 'raw and unexercised' (p. 100). At Barbadoes the soldiers were drilled twice a week (p. 12; cf. Thurloe, iii. 158), but there is no record of any instruction being given them during the voyage.

Indeed, they were embarked in such a hurry that the officers were frequently separated from their men, and from their baggage (pp. 6, 68). On this point the narrative of Venables is confirmed by Lieut.-Col. Barrington's account of his own experience.

'The 15th of December, 1654, we marched from our settled quarters (which was Chichester) towards Portsmouth, but lay still that night, and the next day, being the Sabbath, the 17th of the same, we marched again for Portsmouth, where we immediately embarked and very willingly, but some of the regiments so unwilling that Major General Disborowe his horse forced them aboard; the soldiers being shipped the officers employed themselves in getting themselves aboard likewise, but General Disborowe was so strict (not giving us eighteen hours) that many officers and the goods of others were left behind, not seeing servants nor goods until we came into the Barbados; for my own part I saw not Dick nor any of my things until we arrived in the forementioned port, but was forced to borrow shifts of the Capt. of the ship. This sudden unexpectedness of time put the officers into great disorder by constraining them to go in other vessels after their men, which very probably might have been of dangerous consequence, for the private men were much discontented at their officers' absence, seeing neither money nor officers they concluded they were thither brought to be sold to some foreign prince. My own company with two more (aboard the vessel I came hither) were resolved to force themselves ashore on the Isle of Wight if I had not come to them as I did, but being with them all was very well and quiet the whole voyage.'

At Barbadoes between 3,000 and 4,000 more men were raised, of whom Lieut.-Col. Barrington gives the following account:

'Being well settled in our respective quarters, we had command given us to entertain all men that were willing to engage in the present expedition; accordingly we obeyed, but the inhabitants finding themselves much grieved (and not without a cause), they complained that they should be utterly ruined in case their servants

were taken from them, they being their livelihood. Upon this complaint our grandees (I mean the commissioners) ordered that no officer whatsoever, upon pain of loss of place, should detain any man's servant that had above nine months to serve, and for the future to entertain none other but freemen, and such servants as came within the afore-mentioned limitation, all which was done intentionally to complete every regiment up to a thousand before we marched from the island; the doing of this hath much injured poor people, even to their undoing, and prejudiced many of the rich, some losing ten servants, some fifteen, some more, some less, none escaping us; therefore most men will conjecture, hearing of it, that we dealt very severely with our countrymen; their whole estates lay in the good stock of servants, therefore to take them away, I must confess, was a great piece of cruelty. Sir, the gentlemen of the island did desire several times to know how many men we wanted, with all making it their further request that they might have liberty to raise them for us, and that we should have no trouble in it, and every inhabitant satisfied, no one bearing a greater burthen than another; but this was not accepted of, but left to the discretion of our officers, who endeavoured to get as many men as they could, not valuing who was undone. Such was the irregularity of this carriage that many lost all their servants, and others but few (if any) who far exceeded the former in estates ten times over, and I may say without lying, ten times more' ('Seventh Rep. Hist. MSS. Comm.' p. 572).

Besides these indented servants a number of freemen were enlisted 'which were a greater loss to some than their servants.' These were voluntary emigrants who formed the free serving class in the colony. 'They are such who served in the country for their freedom, or paid their passage when transported from England; such as these might be freely entertained without control, yet the going off of these was very prejudiciall to most, they owing much and not giving any satisfaction, neither was there any care taken that they should satisfy their creditors' ('Seventh Rep. Hist. MSS.

Comm.' p. 572). Colonel Modyford, while mentioning the loss the colony suffered in these ways, says plainly that it was not the fault of the commissioners, but due to the refusal of the local government to assist them in levying men at Barbadoes. 'Notwithstanding this the Commissioners did restore all servants that could be found, and all indebted men they had notice of' (Thurloe, iii. 620; cf. iii. 250, iv. 7, 39).

The men thus raised at Barbadoes, and those of the same sort levied in the other islands, were, as might have been expected, very inferior fighting material. Venables describes them as 'being only bold to do mischief, not to be commanded as soldiers, nor to be kept in any civil order; being the most profane debauched persons that ever we saw, scorners of religion, indeed men so loose as not to be kept under discipline and so cowardly as not to be made to fight' (p. 30). Penn and the other commissioners, echoed this condemnation in a letter to the Governor of Barbadoes (p. 30). Captain How's remarks are still more emphatic (pp. 40, 44). Whistler's description of Barbadoes, 'the dunghill whereon England doth cast forth its rubbish' (p. 146), is a sufficient explanation of the character of these recruits.

The men raised at Barbadoes were for the most part incorporated in the five infantry regiments Venables brought with him, thus raising their numbers to 900 or 1,000 apiece. The rest were formed into a separate regiment under the command of Colonel Lewis Morris, a Barbadian planter. At the last moment, however, Morris declined to go on the expedition unless his debts were paid by the State. 'He told us in plaine terms, if we would give him an hundred thousand weight of sugar, that so he might pay his debts, and leave his estate cleere to his wife, then Lewis Morris would shed his blood for us.' Venables and the commissioners rejected this proposal, but persuaded him to conceal his intention till his regiment was on board, which he consented to do (Thurloe, vi. 158. 250). On the resignation of Morris, Venables gave the command of the regiment to his own lieutenant-colonel,

Edward D'Oyley, Governor of Jamaica from November 1655 to December 1656, and again from September 1657 to the Restoration. In a letter to the Protector, written in June 1656 asking to be confirmed as Governor, D'Oyley gives the following account of himself. 'I am a gentleman of no inconsiderable family, but persecuted theis many years for the cause of religion. . . . My education at the Inns of Court, togeather with my continuall employments, not meane ones, in civill and martiall affairs these fowerteene yeares past, may have given me experimentall abilities enough to performe the charge heere as commander-in-cheife of the forces, or governor, if I am allowed to be indued with common parts. . . . That though I have not I have been satisfied in all revolutions of late tymes; yet upon your highness being made protector, I did quit a good employment in Ireland, and publiquely declared to Lieut.-Gen. Ludlowe and others, that I would goe for England, and live and dye in your interest' (Thurloe, v. 138). In another letter written in September 1657 D'Oyley describes himself as in his fortieth year, so that he was born about 1617. The early services to which he refers I have not yet succeeded in tracing. D'Oyley's part in the attack on Hispaniola and the early occurrences at Jamaica was not very prominent or important, but from November 1655 to the Restoration he is the principal figure in the history of the colony. Some of his papers descended to Long, the historian of Jamaica, and are now in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 12423, 12410, 12411). They contain a list of commissions granted by him, and a number of miscellaneous orders which throw a good deal of light on the early life of the colony.

Besides filling up the ranks of the five regiments, and raising a sixth infantry regiment, a small number of horse were also got together.

Captain Henry Jones and the troop of 60 horse which were to have accompanied the expedition from England did not reach Barbadoes with the rest of the fleet. It was at first reported that

he was dead, but finally discovered that 'he being embarked in the "Little Charity," with his horses, was driven into Ireland, and detained there for some time by contrary winds' ('Cal. State Papers, Dom.' 1655, p. 433; 'Mercurius Politicus,' pp. 5320, 5372). To replace Jones's troop two small troops of horse were raised at Barbadoes, viz. a troop of 60 horse equipped and mounted at the cost of the island, and 30 gentlemen who 'came in with their horses and servants as a lifeguard to General Venables' (*ib.* p. 5341; Thurloe, iii. 621). The first troop was commanded by Captain Philip Carpenter (see pp. 31, 122); the second by Captain Heane, son of the Major-General ('Report on the Portland MSS.' ii. 90; Thurloe, iii. 514). The total, added to the few of Jones's troopers who had not shared the disaster of their captain, made up 121 horse, besides officers (p. 122).

At Barbadoes also the artillery of the expedition, such as it was, was completed. A small mortar-piece was borrowed, as the mortars intended to accompany Venables had been left behind in the 'Great Charity' (Thurloe, iii. 506). According to the pamphlet by I. S. wooden mortars were actually made, though they never appear to have been used ('Harleian Miscellany,' iii. 515). The artillery train also included two 'drakes,' but nothing is heard of any other field guns. Captain Hughes was the commander of the train (Thurloe, iii. 507; iv. 611; see also pp. 28, 82, 132, *post*).

In addition to these forces a seventh regiment of foot was raised in St. Christopher's and the Leeward Islands. Captain Gregory Butler, one of the commissioners, Captain Edward Blagge, of the Marston Moor, and Richard Holdipp, Lieutenant-Colonel of Fortescue's regiment, were dispatched from Barbadoes in February for the purpose. At Antigua they obtained only a couple of pilots. At Mountserrat they levied 80 men. At Nevis 300 men were enlisted in one day. At St. Christopher's 800 or 900 more were procured. In all about 1,200 men were got together, according to Butler's computation,[1] and shipped on board the fleet about

[1] I. S. boldly says 1,300. *Harleian Miscellany*, iii. 515.

April 7 (Thurloe, iii. 142, 158, 505, 754; see also pp. 30, 149, *post*). This was at least 200 more than the commissioners were instructed to raise, and considering the shortness of provisions and arms, the additional men were rather a difficulty than a help. Butler states that he made this objection, but was overruled by his brother commissioners and by Fortescue. Holdipp's ambition was the cause. 'For by this means Holdept thought that he might have the command of a reggemente, whoe indeed never merited a company.' So it fell out. 'The Generall,' says Butler, 'made Holdept colonel contrary to the advice of the Major-Generall of blessed memory, and contrary to all the officers of the armey, and thereby contrary to my one mind, whoe shall never endure such base covetuose Matchavells' (Thurloe, iii. 755).

On the other hand, Holdipp had been specially recommended for employment as a commissioner by a committee of merchants and others acquainted with the West Indies, and evidently possessed some knowledge of the colonies. He had once been Governor of the English colony at Surinam, but had returned to England before 1654 (Thurloe, ii. 543; iv. 157). It was owing no doubt to his local knowledge that Venables relied upon his advice, and as Lieut.-Col. Barrington complained, 'took Holdepp to be of his cabinett counsell (who hath been a very ill member to this army' (*ib.* iii. 647; cf. 'Seventh Report Hist. MSS. Comm.' p. 575). On May 19 Venables made him colonel of the regiment late Major-General Heane's, and the St. Christopher's regiment was shortly afterwards reduced (Thurloe, iii. 661). Whatever his defects as a soldier, Holdipp understood colonisation, and when the army at Jamaica took to planting, he was 'the best and most forward planter.' About June 1656, however, 'upon articles preferred against him by his lieutenant-colonel for detaineing the dues of the regiment etc.,' he was sentenced to be 'totally casheired,' and returned to England (Thurloe, v. 152). It was reported in 1657 that the Protector intended to send him back to Jamaica, but Lieutenant-General Brayne advised against it, as a

thing 'which will breed great disturbance here, he is so extremely hated for his cruelties and oppression, which they say he hath executed in the Indies' (*ib.* vi. 391). He did not return, but probably entered the Venetian service, obtaining a recommendatory letter to that government from the Protector on April 20, 1658 (*ib.* vii. 83).

Taking all these additional forces into account, it is evident that Venables must have had a considerable army under his command by the time he reached the coast of Hispaniola. He says himself that he brought 2,500 men with him, and Winslow, writing from Barbadoes on March 30, says that the 2,500 men had been made up there to 6,000 (Thurloe, iii. 325, 500). According to Venables there landed at Hispaniola in all 6,551, and he asserts that this was the highest number he ever had (pp. 94, 97, 99). On the other hand, a muster of the army taken on March 26, 1655, just before leaving Barbadoes, gives a total of 6,973 officers and men (see p. 122, *post*). Holdipp's regiment from St. Kitts, which joined a few days later, and consisted of from 1,000 to 1,200 men, made up the total to over 8,000. Moreover, there was also the sea regiment, consisting of 1,080 (or 1,200) sailors from the fleet, who had been drilled and formed into a regiment during the stay at Barbadoes (Thurloe, iii. 158; cf. 'Memorials of Sir William Penn,' ii. 68, 73, 75, 80). Penn, in explaining the rapid consumption of the provisions on board the fleet, incidentally remarks 'the soldiers landed at Hispaniola, being besides the sea regiment, at least 8,000' (*ib.* ii. 111).

The author of the narrative and letter printed in Appendix D gives the total force landing at Hispaniola as 8,000 exclusive of the sea regiment, which he puts at 1,000 men, making a total of 9,000. In one passage he even states the total as 9,500 (pp. 127, 129, 136). From all these different pieces of evidence it seems clear that Venables in his defence greatly understates the number of the forces under his command. It seems impossible to doubt that he had 8,000 men, without counting the sea regiment.

Venables also understates his losses at Hispaniola. I. S., whose pamphlet he endeavours to refute, asserts that by a general muster taken at the end of April or early in May, it was found that of 9,700 men landed originally (including the sea regiment) only about 8,000 remained ('Harleian Miscellany,' iii. 516). While 9,700 is certainly too large a figure, and therefore to put the loss at 1,700 is putting it much too high, it is pretty clear that Venables goes to the other extreme in declaring that he only lost 700 men there (pp. 97, 99). The losses in the fighting on April 17 and April 25 were certainly heavy, though the number is nowhere very definitely stated. In the second repulse about 300 or 400 men are said to have been killed or mortally wounded (pp. 27, 29, 131, 133, 159; 'Clarke Papers,' iii. 56, 57; 'Memorials of Sir William Penn,' ii. 90; Thurloe, iii. 506). In addition to this, a considerable number died of their wounds, and still more from disease occasioned by insufficient food and exposure to the weather (pp. 135, 156, 160). The two narratives in the Appendix both estimate the total loss in Hispaniola at 1,000 men (pp. 135, 159), and Lieut.-Col. Barrington says 'I am confident we lost 1,000 men at least in that island,' adding that the sea regiment alone lost 116 men before April 28 ('Seventh Rep. Hist. MSS. Comm.' p. 575).

Deducting his losses at Hispaniola, therefore, Venables probably landed at Jamaica about 7,000 men, not counting the sea regiment. This is the figure given by I. S. and by the author of the narrative in Appendix D (pp. 99, 136). Venables makes a feeble attempt to refute this by repeating again the erroneous statement that he never had more than 6551 men, adding that ten weeks after the landing at Jamaica, 'which was our first muster,' he had over 5,800 men. As the landing at Jamaica was on May 10, the muster referred to must have taken place about July 20, by which time the loss from sickness had been very great (pp. 48, 49, 67, 140, 166). During the next three months the deaths from disease were still more numerous. 'Still halfe our armie lies sicke and

helpless,' says a letter dated November 5, 1655 (p. 142). A muster taken in November 1655 gives a total of 2,194 men well and 2,316 sick, besides 173 women and children. But from these 4,510 men must be deducted 790 belonging to the regiment of Colonel Humphreys, which had just arrived from England with Sedgwick, so that of the 7,000 men who landed in May, only 3,720 were still alive ('Cal. State Papers, Colonial,' Addenda, p. 105).

The great mortality among the soldiers and the disasters which befell the expedition were due to want of foresight and care in its equipment as well as to the errors of its commander and the officers under him. The arrangements for the expedition seem to have been in the hands of a committee appointed in August 1654, consisting chiefly of merchants and sea-captains possessing special knowledge of the West Indies. Of this committee 'for the manageing the Southerne expedition,' both Venables and Penn were members (p. 108). Specimens of its recommendations are printed in Thurloe's 'State Papers' (ii. 543; iii. 203), but the earliest and most important papers relative to the equipment of the expedition are not to be found either there or among the Domestic or Colonial State Papers. General Disbrowe, the Protector's brother-in-law, seems to have been the man chiefly trusted with the duty of seeing these recommendations carried out, and with the general supervision of the preparations for the expedition (Thurloe, iii. 11; cf. 'Cal. State Papers, Dom.' 1654, p. 414).

Whether it was the fault of Disbrowe or the committee, the equipment of the expedition was in every way defective. Venables asserts that the provisions supplied for the expedition were insufficient in amount and inferior in quality. The deficiency in quantity, which is amply proved, was partly due to the fact that a number of the storeships were left behind when the fleet started, and detained by the weather when they should have set out to follow it (pp. 6, 7). They did not join till the expedition had landed at Jamaica. The 'Recovery,' the 'William,' the 'Augus-

tine' and the 'Morning Star' arrived at Barbadoes after Venables had left (Thurloe, iii. 499). Though the 'William' and 'Recovery' arrived on May 19 at Jamaica (*ib.* iv. 28; 'Memorials of Sir W. Penn,' ii. 111), 'The bread they brought,' wrote Venables and Butler, 'is so inconsiderable that it will but serve the army 22 days at half allowance' (Thurloe, iii. 510). In another letter he says these two ships brought 'some biscuit which we extremely want, but the fleet claim it as theirs, and then we starve' (Carte, 'Original Letters,' ii. 50). On June 4, the two others, the 'Augustine' and 'Edward' arrived at Jamaica, but the fifth, the 'Morning Star,' was too leaky to get beyond Barbadoes and her lading had to be transferred ('Memorials of Sir William Penn,' ii. 112).

At the same time there were complaints of the unsoundness of the stores originally supplied, which Venables attributes to the deliberate neglect or corruption of Disbrowe (p. 4; cf. 'Memorials of Sir William Penn,' ii. 67). It was necessary, because of the insufficiency of the stores on board the fleet, to buy provisions at Barbadoes, and the only provisions to be purchased there consisted of a stock sent thither for sale by the Victuallers of the Navy. These provisions were of the most inferior quality (pp. 8, 12–13, 43), and so insufficient in quantity that on the short voyage from Barbadoes to Jamaica the soldiers were put on half rations. By the time they landed they were greatly weakened by their bad diet, and unfit to face the hardships to which they were exposed (p. 13).

Venables was blamed for staying so long at Barbadoes that he lost the best season for attacking Hispaniola and gave the Spaniards time to prepare for his coming, but the absence of his storeships obliged him either to wait for them or to obtain fresh supplies (pp. 79, 93, 100). But he was not obliged to levy more men than he could feed, and it would have been far better if, instead of the 5,000 men he did raise in the West Indies, he had contented himself with half that number (cf. 'Memorials of Sir W. Penn,' ii. 72).

During the three weeks the army was on shore at Hispaniola

it continued to suffer for want of food, not so much because of the insufficiency of provisions on board the fleet as on account of defects in the arrangements for their distribution to the troops (pp. 21, 32, 43, 45, 94, 127, 132, 134). The soldiers were finally reduced to eat dogs and horses, and many died of bad or poisonous food (pp. 34, 44, 98, 135). Venables attributes the lack of provisions to the ill-will of Penn and the navy (pp. 34, 44, 98, 135, 160), but it is evident both from Whistler's narrative and other sources that Penn was less to blame than the general asserts (pp. 153, 155; 'Memorials of Sir W. Penn,' ii. 81, 83, 84, 86).

After the landing in Jamaica there was a similar scarcity of bread and biscuit, which were supplied from the fleet 'with a strait and a slack hand, and also very bad' (pp. 40, 41, 47, 48, 67–69; cf. 'Memorials of Sir W. Penn,' ii. 100, 105). At first the deficiency was supp'ied with fresh meat, as cattle were abundant in Jamaica, and the Spaniards agreed to send in a certain number every day while the treaty lasted. After the treaty was broken off the cattle became more and more difficult to procure, and were driven into the woods by the soldiers who chased them (pp. 36, 39, 41, 45, 58, 164–166). Meat grew scarcer and scarcer; once more the soldiers ate dogs, horses, mules, roots, raw fruit, and disease naturally followed (pp. 45, 48, 141, 166). But while the want of bread and biscuit was due to the insufficiency of the supplies provided by the government in England, the want of meat was due to the incapacity of the commanders of the army. There were plenty of cattle in Jamaica, and the army, as I. S. observed, was 'starving in a cook's shop' ('Harleian Miscellany,' iii. 522). Lieut.-Col. Barrington gives a similar account of the sufferings of the soldiers for the want of provisions. Writing on July 14, 1655, he says, 'The army is at present in a very sad condition, we have no bread allowed us, and flesh we have not received any these four days . . . meat here is enough in the island, *but the disorder of the army at the first of our coming hath brought us to these wants*' ('Seventh Rep. Hist. MSS. Comm.' p. 575).

Another defect in the provisioning of the expedition of which Venables repeatedly speaks is the want of brandy. 'Our men,' he writes, 'die daily for want of it,' though it was alleged that there was plenty of it on board the fleet which the naval authorities refused to let the army share (pp. 48, 49, 59, 67).

Medical stores in general seem to have been deficient, and the sick and wounded were greatly neglected. Very little is heard of surgeons or physicians, but probably the army had the usual establishment of one per regiment, with a couple of assistants or mates (pp. 11, 32, 63; cf. 'Report on the Duke of Portland's MSS.' ii. 92, 93, 95, 96). The results of this deficiency in surgeons and medicines were aggravated by the neglect of ordinary sanitary precautions in the quarters occupied by the army at Jamaica (pp. 142, 143). Lieut.-Col. Barrington gives further details on this subject in his letter of July 14, 1655. 'The plague is very much feared here, and doubtless (without God's preventing mercy) will come in sore amongst us, for the scents are here so noisome that in some parts of this town a man is not able to walk, and all occasioned by ourselves in letting our men some of them lie above ground, and others buried so shallow underground that they already scent through; besides this we offend our quarters very much by our nastiness and throwing the garbage of our cattle in inconvenient places, all which doth at present very much annoy us, being little course taken for preventing the like future inconvenience' ('Seventh Rep. Hist. MSS. Comm.' p. 574).

To return to the defects in the original equipment of the expedition. Not only provisions, but arms were wanting. Venables justly complains of the insufficiency and inferior quality of the weapons with which the men were armed. Not 1,600 of his men, he wrote from Barbadoes in February, were well armed: their arms in general were 'extreme bad' and most of the arms 'unfixed' (pp. 6, 12, *post*). This refers to the firearms, mostly matchlocks, with which they were equipped.

The commissioners expected to obtain 1,500 additional muskets

at Barbadoes, but they proved difficult to get there (pp. 9, 43). This statement is confirmed by Commissioner Winslow (Thurloe, iii. 250); but eventually the required 1,500 were obtained by borrowing from the Barbadoes trained bands (*ib.* iii. 621). 'For fire arms,' confesses Lieut.-Col. Barrington, 'we took them where we could find them, without giving any satisfaction to the owners' ('Seventh Rep. Hist. MSS. Comm.' p. 572). A certain number were also apparently obtained from the fleet, though not nearly sufficient (Thurloe, iii. 158). In addition to this the quantity of powder, shot, and match provided for the expedition was very insufficient, and little could be obtained either from the fleet or the island (p. 9, 11, *post*).

Other arms were equally deficient both in quantity and quality. Venables had not sufficient pikes to equip the portion of his regiments requiring them. He attempted, as he states, to obtain 'lances' from the navy, but Penn would not let him have them, although they had been put on board for the soldiers as much as for the sailors (pp. 12, 14). Accordingly he was obliged to set all the smiths in Barbadoes to work to make half-pikes, of which 2,500 were thus procured. Scoutmaster Birkenhead describes them as 'half-pikes, though at a larger length than ordinary, for they are ten foot long; many of them (which may cause your wonder) are made of cabadge stalks, I mean of the trees in Barbadoes, which bear cabages, and that for lack of better wood' (Thurloe, iii. 159, 621). These were poor weapons to oppose to the formidable Spanish lances, so much dwelt upon by the narrators of the expedition (see pp. 155–8, *post*). I. S. observes: 'The disequality betwixt the English pikes and Spanish lances was such, that the one being over long, and top-heavy, could not be managed with that dexterity and to so good a purpose (especially in narrow ways and woods, as the lance, which is about three quarters of that length[1]: neither are the English half-pikes of sufficient length to reach these lances: the Spaniards also (by often use and

[1] Twelve as against sixteen feet long.

practice) become more expert in the use of these weapons than Englishmen, who (although perhaps old soldiers) never made use of pike or lance, except against horses' ('Harleian Miscellany,' iii. 517).

One more defect there was in the equipment of the English soldiers, and that the most fatal of all. They had no water-bottles. Venables does not mention this in his letters from Barbadoes: he first became wise after the event. 'Whoever comes into these parts,' he wrote from Jamaica on May 26, 1655, 'must bring leather bottles, which are more needful here than knapsacks in Ireland. Therefore pray procure great store of them, or we must never make further attempt, the Spaniards' defence being overgrown woods and want of water' (Carte, 'Original Letters,' ii. 50). Leather bottles or 'black jacks' were repeatedly demanded by both general and officers (pp. 49, 65).

It is clear from this that water-bottles were not in those days part of the ordinary equipment of English soldiers, and indeed I have never come across any mention of them in army-accounts or military pamphlets of the period. It is surprising, however, that neither the committee of merchants appointed to see to the preparations required for the expedition, nor the colonists and men possessing local knowledge whom Venables consulted with at Barbadoes, seem to have suggested the necessity of providing some means of carrying water.

Another defect was the want of tents, which was severely felt at Hispaniola (pp. 49, 65, 156). Smiths' tools, and tools of all kinds were also very deficient (12, 49, 63). The stock of clothes for the soldiers was so insufficient that those provided for the seamen had to be drawn upon (pp. 49, 57). In short, no worse prepared and equipped expedition ever left the English shores, and the consequences of these initial mistakes and negligences were all aggravated by the mistakes and quarrels of those charged with its command.

Taking these things into consideration, it is evident that the defence put forward by Venables in his narrative is in part

sustained by facts. The difficulties with which he had to struggle were, through no fault of his own, almost insuperable. On the other hand, it is evident that he was deficient both in strength of character and capacity. His ill-health made his task still more difficult, weakened his faculties, and finally made it impossible for him to fulfil the duties of his post. For his mistakes at Hispaniola and other errors he might justly have been called to account, but to condemn him for leaving Jamaica when he was incapable of further service was the height of injustice.

The opinions expressed concerning Venables by some of the different officers engaged in the expedition are worth collecting. At Barbadoes, according to Scoutmaster-general Birkenhead, he was 'so justly and temperately discreet and active, so conscionably just and careful to relieve the oppressed, that truly we are thereby (if possible it could be) in a greater tye of duty to his Highnes for making such a provision for us in him: for he lays his shoulders so much to the work in hand that we are sometimes afraid lest he overturn himself; for his rest is hardly four hours most nights' (Thurloe, iii. 159). No want of zeal or industry, it is evident, could be charged against him. At Hispaniola it is evident that he showed plenty of personal courage in the fighting, though Whistler asserts the contrary (pp. 29, 31, 131, 154, 159). The first letter of Penn and the commissioners after the defeat praises 'the worth of our General,' and describes him as seeking 'by all means to stop the base flight of our men' (p. 31). Captain How is still more emphatic in commendation of the 'godly, valiant, discreet general' (p. 46), and Commissary Daniel terms him 'wise,' 'prudent,' 'noble,' and unwearied' (Thurloe, iii. 506–7).

On the other hand, Holdipp, while bearing evidence in favour of Venables on two points of detail, is silent on other questions (p. 22), and Doyley plainly condemned his generalship (p. 28). Barrington, Buller's lieutenant-colonel, who was no doubt expressing his colonel's views as well as his own, emphatically condemns Venables as a leader throughout his narrative (Seventh Rep. Hist.

MSS. Comm. p. 571). It was not only that he made mistakes in the conduct of the expedition, but that he hardly ever consulted his officers as to the conduct of his operations. 'There is much discontent,' he writes from Jamaica on July 14, 1655, 'betwixt our General and Colonell Buller, Collonel Carter, and Collonel Doyley (by them justly taken) occasioned by his irregular acting; they have not so much power here as his Highness allowed the captaines (under his conduct) both in England, Scotland, and Ireland, neither hath he summoned them twice (since our arrival here) to consult about the safe disposall of this your poor army for the future,[1] nay, that which is worst of all, he acteth as his will leadeth him, notwithstanding the vote of the councill' (Thurloe, iii. 646).

The discord which sprang up between Venables and his officers,

[1] Two important councils of officers are recorded during the time the army was at Hispaniola. One was held to discuss where, and in what order, the army should land. The votes are printed on p. 18 (cf. Thurloe, iii. 755). The other took place before the second attack on the city of San Domingo. 'At a councell of field officers it was put to the voate which way the armey should march; and it was pressed hard by the Generall and Fortesque to march intirely with the armey by the forte Geronemoe; but the Major-Generall of happye memorye, colonel Buller, and myselfe, with lefteneant-collonel Clarke were for dividing the armey, and marching to the north-west of the citty; but the Generall was so vialent for the contrary, that himselfe, Fortesque, Doyley, with Holdept, and some others, overvoted us' (Thurloe, iii. 755). A similar statement is made by Lieut.-Col. Barrington: 'It was the desire of our renowned late Major-General Heane, with most of the colonels that our general divide his army into two bodies, the one to march the direct way to the city, and the other to fetch a compass and fall upon it on the east side, which would have been of great advantage to the army, and disadvantageous to the enemy' (*Seventh Rep. Hist. MSS. Comm.* p. 573). According to the author of the Rawlinson narrative the north of the town was defended only by a hedge, so that this plan might have proved successful (p. 135). A council was held just after landing at Jamaica, in which it was resolved to advance and occupy the capital. St. Iago de la Vega, that night. Venables, however, countermanded the orders agreed upon in council, and delayed the march till next day, thus giving the Spaniards time to carry off their goods and escape to the mountains. This is the case Buller refers to in proof of his statement (Thurloe, iii. 646; *Seventh Rep. Hist. MSS. Comm.* p. 573). Notes of councils held in Jamaica are printed on pp. 62, 123.

whatever its cause may have been, is also attested by his own narrative. In one passage he speaks of factions in the army, and attributes their existence to Major General Heane, who was disappointed in his hopes of obtaining the command in chief (p. 79). In another he speaks of Buller and his officers as heading the discontented party, and demanding the calling of a council of war 'to debate what was fit for the army to do' (pp. 60–62). It is pretty clear that this discontent was general and that Colonel Buller was sent to England to represent the views of the opposition as well as the necessities of the army (p. 63).

One other criticism on the conduct of Venables deserves a passing notice. The fact that he took his wife with him excited much hostile comment in the army. He was charged with seeking her society when he ought to have been looking after his army, and it was also said that she exercised undue influence with him (pp. 156, 168).

Later critics took up the same tale. 'He is unfit to be *pater patriae*,' wrote Edmund Hickeringill, 'that is not *Domi dominus*, nor to ride admiral of a fleet that cannot carry the flag at home but is forced to lower his topsail to a petticoat' ('Jamaica viewed,' 1661, p. 67). When Venables, during the examination into his conduct which took place after his return, was asked why he took his wife with him, he answered that the object of the expedition was to settle, not merely to conquer, and also that soldiers' wives were valuable as nurses (p. 102). This lady was the second wife of General Venables, Elizabeth, daughter of Samuel Aldersey, and widow of Thomas Lee of Darnhall. Their marriage took place in May 1654. Mrs. Venables was the author of an autobiography, which is printed in the fourth volume of the 'Chetham Miscellany.' Unfortunately it ends with her second marriage and contains no account of the expedition to the West Indies. At the close she refers briefly to its ill success. 'We were posted out of Ireland and by a very unjust power, and as unfaithfully was my dear husband dealt withall. Nothing of their promises performed. They

pretended the honour of God and the propagating of the Gospel. But alas! their intention was self honour and riches . . . and so the design prospered according to their hypocrisy.' 'Though the heart of Mr. Venables I dare say was right, that the glory of God was his aim, yet the success was very ill, for the work of God was not like to be done by the Devils instruments. A wicked army it was, and sent out without arms or provision. Our time of going, and great sufferings, with the acknowledgements of God's great kindness, is expressed in another paper.' [1]

In conclusion it remains to call attention to three papers in Appendix F. The first is a Spanish proclamation written in very imperfect English, found at Tortuga, which illustrates the way in which the Spaniards, while not colonising themselves, prevented French, Dutch, or English from settling on unoccupied islands (p. 170). The other two are letters from the Protector to General Monck and Colonel Brayne concerning the reinforcements sent to Jamaica from Scotland under Brayne's command in 1656 (pp. 171–73).

C. H. Firth.

[1] The paper referred to seems to have been a narrative of the personal experiences of Mrs. Venables and her husband, not the vindication of General Venables mentioned previously as in the possession of Mr. Lee Townshend.

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THE

NARRATIVE OF GENERAL VENABLES

A NARRATIVE BY GENERAL VENABLES OF HIS EXPEDITION TO THE ISLAND OF JAMAICA AND THE CONQUEST THEREOF UNDER THE PROTECTORSHIP OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

It being the usual course of such persons whose Pikes prove too short to make use of their Pens to Supply that defect, and by that means endeavour to clear themselves from envy and reproach their disasters might draw upon them, which [are] ordinarily measured to them with a large hand, I should have wav'd anything in this nature and wholly cast my reputation in the managing of this Western design upon the Opinion of those that have formerly been acquainted both with my person and former Services. But there being so many thousands who never knew me nor them I find myself necessitated to publish to the World a true Narrative of the Design, lest otherwise (If I be silent) some envious persons should take Liberty to censure me as their own misguided fancies and humour or the Slanderous reports of envious Tongues shall dictate to them.

The sad and never sufficiently to be lamented differences which have for some few Years past fallen out in these Nations, and being so general that almost every Man was in Action or affection engag'd in them upon one part or other, among others my self (as conscience and judgment guided me) adhered to the Parlia-

ment, upon such Grounds, Reasons, and Engagements as were held forth by them (tho' fruitless of my hopes in the end), which cause I promoted to my utmost Ability against all discouragements, and to enable me the better I sold a Tenement of about Forty Pounds a Year, with the Money to raise Arms and maintain a company of Foot in that service, which I did, and serv'd with the same in Lancashire without any Pay. My service in England I shall not mention but leave to others to speak of, both in Lancashire and Cheshire, Yorkshire, Sallop, and North Wales, in the Seige of Nantwich, Fight at Leebridge, Christleton, and Montgomery, besides other Services of less importance. The War in England being ended I was engaged in the Irish Service and landed at Dublin (it being besieged) first of any Regiment,[1] in such a time when they dispair'd of any relief, and the Soldiers running away to the Enemy by hundreds, so that they were almost come to a Necessity to treat of a surrender, thereby to save something, all otherwise being certainly Lost. My arrival put a stop to this, and put life into the Soldiers, who out of meer dispair of relief revolted. After the taking of Droheda (other Officers refusing the employment) I was sent into Ulster with a thousand five hundred Horse and Foot only, there being in that Province above so many Regiments as I had hundreds to oppose me, where how the Lord prospered me is publicly known. So that before I had Receiv'd Two Thousand Pounds from the State to carry on that Service, the Lord had given into the Parliaments hands whatever the Scots had in possession, and for surrender of which the Parliament did by their commissioners offer to the Scots One hundred and fifty Thousand Pounds; and as one of the commissioners, Sir Robert King, told me, they had commission to give Two Hundred Thousand Pounds if it would be accepted. In Carlingfort, Newry, Belfast, Lysnegarive, Antrim, Toome, and Carrickfurgus, were above Eighty Pieces of Ordnance, and near half of them Brass, Eighty Barrels of Powder with Match and Ball Proportionable, with about

[1] 22 July 1649. See Cary, *Memorials of the Civil War*, ii. 159.

Two hundred Arms, for all which Service I never receiv'd further reward than a Letter of thanks for the same from the Council of State. After I had been continued in Ireland almost five Years and never seen home, the Irish War being ended, the Rt. Honble. the Lord Broughill and myself were, at a General Council of the Officers, voted to attend his Highness with some Addresses from the Army in order to the settling and Planting of Ireland.[1] Which business being almost perfected it was his Highness pleasure to acquaint me that he intended some other Imployment for me. I desired to know it; after some time the design was imparted to me and the Justice of it, which I desir'd to be Clear'd to me before I accepted of it, in which perticular being satisfied by this Dilemma, That either there was Peace with the Spaniards in the West Indies, or not. If Peace, they had Violated it, and to seek reparation was Just. If we had no Peace, then was there nothing acted against Articles with Spain. After this I desir'd his Highness to grant me some requests before I could accept of this Imployment. His Highness commanded me to draw them up in Writing, and to deliver them to Mr. Secretary Thurloe, who should give me an Answer to them, which accordingly I did. These being granted I proceeded to propound Land in Ireland for My Arrears due for my Service there,[2] and some inlisting of Officers was now Acting, when suddenly all the business was at a stand, and all further proceedings in it to be way'd. So that I thought all had been ended, and betook me again to my own affairs. After some five Months Silence I was suddenly again call'd upon to undertake the Imployment. I answered I could not in conscience engage unless my Proposals were granted, nor leave my children without any Care of them, except I should fall under the Apostles censure, 'He that provided not for them of his Family hath denied the Faith, and is worse than an Infidel.'

I desired to know the Grounds and Reasons of the design that

[1] The version of this narrative in the possession of Mr. Lee-Townshend begins with this visit to England. [2] See *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1654, p. 357.

I might the better understand the State of those parts. I desired Arms, Ammunition, and all other necessaries by a perticular under my hand, suitable to the design and the distance of the place, Supplies not being to be had Suddenly, and therefore must carry the more with us, lest when we come to work we should be forc'd to stand still through want of necessaries to carry on the Service. I further mov'd that my Friends should not be made more formidable to me than my enemies, by bounding and streightning me with Commissions and Instructions, which at that distance could serve but as fetters (Contingencies not being possible to be foreseen), and I by them discourag'd and put into doubts when I should need the greatest encouragements without fear to engage against all hazzards, which by Instructions might be double to what the Enemy could make them. I had a satisfactory answer to all, but how performed shall be afterwards declar'd. Whilst these things were in transaction there were some discontents in the Fleet, and Complaints were said to be against the unsoundness of the Provisions, about which, I being spoken unto by the Officers that the care of the Food belong'd to me, I desir'd the person that informed me to acquaint Gen^{l}. Desbrow with it, which he did, and Gen^{l}. Desbrow was so incenc'd against me that he publickly fell out with me, and told me I sought to hinder the design, and raised an untrue report. I reply'd I did not, and that I had only sent the information privately to acquaint him with these things, (in regard he had the care of the Fleet to see it well furnished with all things,) and that I had the information from coll. Buller, and had not spoke of it to any save the commissioners, and therefore could not be guilty of any miscarriage to the prejudice of the design, being I medled not in any report, but will'd Buller to inform him of what he had told me, and therefore did wonder why he should thus publickly reprehend me, to no end save to make a Breach between the Land and Seamen. He Answered he had for twelve Years seen transactions of Affairs, and had an End wherefore he spoke it. I reply'd the End he aimed at I knew not, but was certain his Language would

produce no good to the design but hurt. I afterwards enquiring of a friend the reason of his passion [was told], no information against the Victuallers of the Navy would be heard with any other acceptance. I asked the reason of that: it was answered, Tho' Gen[l]. Desbrow was no Victualler, yet it was believed upon very strong presumptions he had a share in the profit of the place, and therefore would receive no complaint against the Victuallers of the Navy but with reproach and passion against the informer, his own Interest (tho' private and not generally known) engageing him in their behalf, it being his own concern as well as theirs.[1] After this my self and Officers made several proposals to the Lords of the Council for the advantageous carrying on of the service intended (as we conceived), wherein we were so modest in matters of our own concernments that never men did undertake so hard and desperate a work upon so mean and low conditions, to let the World know it was the Promotion of the Gospel and the Service of our country we chiefly did propound to ourselves. But after four Months attendance and expence of our Money we had not any positive answer whether the design would go on or no, and yet the design Vulgarly discovered,[2] whereby the Enemy had timely warning to provide, which we find they did with much circumspection and prudence.

After about Five Months time I was commanded to be ready to go with so much haste, having wholly laid all Conceipt of the design aside, that I was so surprised with confusion in my thoughts, that I had scarce time to know in what condition the state of things were before our Men were drawn out. I desir'd we might only have such as freely offered themselves, which was promised us, Yet the Officers generally gave us the most abject of their Companies, and if any man offered himself he was struck, or otherwise punished. And one thing I cannot omit, that those men

[1] This passage is quoted by Long in his *History of Jamaica*, i. 616.

[2] 'Though it was become so publick as to be the sole jest of common discourse' is added in the Lee-Townshend MS.

we had were taken up purposely to spare their old Blades, and among those thus entertained were diverse Papists, in perticular Sixteen, and four of them Irish, and one a Priest, were put upon us out of the Tower Regiment: many more were found since, though all we could discover were cashiered at Barbadoes. And though it was earnestly mov'd by me that we might have the men raised out of the Irish Army, seasoned with hardship and danger, it was utterly rejected. Besides the Men thus given wanted Five Hundred of the Number designed, and almost half their arms defective and altogether unserviceable; which being related to the Council we were not permitted to stay for arms, much less (which I earnestly press'd) to exercise the Men and try what they were; but the Officers and myself were threatened to be imprisoned if they stay'd in the City till next day, whereby some were constrain'd to leave their necessaries behind them, which they could never procure to be brought to them all, being denied carriages which are allow'd all other Officers in the three Nations. I then mov'd that we might have a General Muster, that I might see the Officers and Soldiers together the better to judge of their fitness and abilitie, and was promised it should be at Portsmouth; but before I could come thither some were ship'd and sent away, and all were reproached for not Shipping faster than Wind and Tide and Boats would serve us.[1] And when I earnestly mov'd to have our Store Ships with us, I was promised they should meet us at Portsmouth, and then was told they would be with us before we left Barbadoes. In all my desires and proposals I was constantly answered with Scoffs or bad language by some, as moving for Targets, the country being woody (the want of which we found to our Grief), we had a jest told us, and then a deniall. Instead of Ministers to the Six Regiments I press'd for, being the design was alledg'd to be for the propagation of the Gospel, [the like] Number of black coats were offered. I complaining of Prophane Persons put upon me, it was answered, if they offended to cashier them, contrary to

[1] Compare Thurloe, iii. 11; and 7th *Rep. Hist. MSS. Comm.* p. 571.

the old adage Turpius ejicitur &c. All these things might have discouraged me from going, had not my affections to the service of my country transported me beyond my Reason and all the persuasions of my Friends, I leaving a considerable Imployment at home as well as estate, so that necessity did not force me upon the Service. I was promised Ten Months Provisions for Ten Thousand Men, but instead of having it put aboard with me it was sent to London to the Store Ships for want of room, and yet the Officers of the Navy took in commodities to Trade withal at Barbadoes. When we came to Barbadoes, being the Twenty ninth of January, we fell the next day to pursue our business and Instructions, but found things so contrary to expectation and Promise that my self writ the following letter to the Protector.

'May it please your Highness,

The good hand of God going along with us at Sea preserving us from Tempests and diseases (not twenty that I can hear of dying in all the Fleet).[1] The difficulties and wants we have met with in this place are fully expressed by the commissioners that I should but trouble your Highness with mentioning of them. It may be your Highness thinks we have spent too much time, and so do I. But when our wants are recounted, and the difficulties, or rather impossibilities to supply ourselves here considered, it will appear to such as know this Island we have not been slow; neither will it be imputed as a fault to us I hope, considering our Stores and other necessaries are all behind, which pleads the more for us, and manifests our Obedience to your Highness's Commands. Yet nothing can discourage save what does wholly disable us to prosecute the same, which I hope will appear by our subsequent Actings. Our supplies and recruits I am confident need not be press'd upon your Highness, they being so necessary and the work so serviceable to your Highness, that I shall give you no other diversion save conclude my self &c.'[2]

[1] Compare 7th *Rep. Hist. MSS. Comm.* p. 571.

[2] In Povey's version this letter is dated Feb. 28.

A Letter sent the Lord President Lawrence, Lord Lambert and several others of the Council of State.[1]

'After a most Merciful and good hand of God towards us at Sea, the twentyninth last we came to Anchor at Carlisle Bay. The next day we landed and fell about our work: but presently of our selves, and by friends privately, were assured (which we find true) that all the Inhabitants were against our design, as destructive to them, and that they would not really and cordially assist us. All the promises made to us in England of Men, Provisions, and Arms, we find to be but Promises, and do not know that we have rais'd One thousand Five Hundred Men, and not Arms for Three Hundred of them.[2] Mr. Neals[3] 1,500 Arms are dwindled to One Hundred and Ninety. We did not doubt but my Lord and his council had proceeded and grounded their Resolves upon greater certainties than we yet discern by any one particular of all that was taken as most certain, the confidence of which did cause us with great assurance to rest satisfied with what was promised us we should find here. Only the country has rais'd us Sixty Horse in a Troop. We cannot expect to be [relieved] from hence with Provisions, they buying all their own; and had we not found some sent here by the Victuallers of the Navy, I know not how we should [have] subsisted when gone hence. We have seiz'd some Dutch Vessels which we found here, which refuse to give us any Invoyces or Bills of Lading, they having almost Sold all their Goods and Landed them before we came, and the Inhabitants will not discover to whom they were Sold. Only since we came a Dutch Man came in with 244 Negroes, whom we have sold for about Five Thousand One Hundred and Sixty Two Pounds, and another Vessel with some Asses about £2,200, (twenty three not yet Sold,)[4] which will much exceed all other Seizures. But what-

[1] A similar letter to Montagu, but with many verbal variations, is printed in Carte's *Original Letters*, ii. 46.

[2] 'I do not know that we have raised 3000 and not arms for 1300 of them,' Carte.

[3] 'Mr. Noel's,' Carte. [4] 'With some asses, about 22 or 23 not yet sold,' Carte.

ever is not to be gotten here, must be sent from England, or we must perish. We desir'd our Mens Arms might be chang'd, being extream bad, and two fifths not to be made serviceable here. Of Three Thousand Men designed we brought but Two Thousand Five Hundred; of those not One Thousand Six Hundred well Armed. So that, our Stores not coming as Promised, we are making half Pikes here to Arm the rest and those we raise; for we have not hopes at any rate to procure One Thousand Six Hundred Fire Arms. If Bread and Meal be not constantly sent us from England we must want it. For Cassava after its planted (and we cannot plant it till June at soonest) it will [not] be fit to Eat of [in] one Year.[1] Its agreed upon by all those persons that know America, the English Powder will not keep above Nine Months, and at that time we must recieve constant Supplies. French and Spanish Powder will keep many Years. Therefore I earnestly desire Salt Petre and all other Materials, Men[2] to make Powder may be sent to us: for the Ingredients will keep uncompounded very well. We have met with all the obstructions that Men in this place can cast in our way; And now we have time to draw our Men together we find not half of them Armed, Nay, in some Regiments not above Two Hundred Arms;[3] the most unfit Arms[4] and unfit Men generally given us, and here we are forc'd to make half Pikes to arm them; which hath lost us so much time and will hazard our Ruin. Had we been Arm'd in England, doubtless we had been at work before this. I have just now Reciev'd an Accompt from Generall Penn of what Arms the Ships can accommodate us with; which as you may see by the Enclosed particular, will not amount to in Shot above Fifteen Shot a Man, a most inconsiderable proportion to have hunted Tories with in Ireland, where we might have supplies every day, much more to attempt one of the greatest Princes in the World within his most beloved Country, where Supplies cannot be had above twice a Year; and this Island upon

[1] 'Not be fit to eat of in a year,' Carte. [2] 'A Mill and Men,' Carte.
[3] 'Not above 200 are,' Carte. [4] 'The most having unfixt arms,' Carte.

Trial will not fitt us with so much. A sad matter that we must attempt so high with little or nothing, or return and do nothing, which some of us could more cheerfully hear the news of death than be guilty of. I have given the best account I am able. The commissioners, I believe, will be more large to his Highness. Pray let not the old Proverb be verified in us, "Out of sight, out of mind." If so you will quickly hear we are not in this World &c.'[1]

Barbadoes Febr.

The Substance also of this Letter with some perticular Instructions was written to Mr. William Row and Martin Nowell, who were Agents for me and the Army at London.

The first business we fell upon at Barbadoes was the Seizing of all Dutch Vessels according to his Highness Instructions. General Penn put his own Nephew, one Mr. Pool, to take the Invoyces and Bills of Lading. Mr. Winslow and my self urg'd that he should not act but by commission from us, and that we would put a cheque upon him; he told us he had power of himself to commission him, refused ours, and would not admit of a cheque, nor suffer us to see Original Invoyces; only one I saw which was convey'd away immediately, and the number of Elephants Teeth in it, which I remember exactly to be one Hundred and Ninety one, were in the Copy of it made but a hundred and Fifty. I urg'd the falshood of the Copy, and desir'd the Original: at last they brought in a hundred eighty and one, and urg'd the other Ten were my mistake, but I had taken the number into my memorial, and could not mistake it. However this one Act (if the rest of the Invoyces, as I have ground to believe, were curtail'd accordingly,) will shew the Seamens proceedings. Mr. Winslow and myself considered how to remedy this, but finding the Seamen our Enemies, and at least to scorn us and adhere to their General,

[1] In Carte's version this letter is dated Feb. 28, 1655; Povey's date is Feb. 20.

and Coll. Searl to comply with him, we were constrained to be Patient per force, and commit the thing to private remembrance when time servd to vindicate ourselves; and Mr. Winsloe said he would certifie Secretary Thurloe of it, which I believe he did.

'At a Council of Warr held at the Indian Bridge Town in the Barbadoes, March 18th, 1654, to consider of the wants of the Army.

General Venables.

Major General Hanes.	Coll. Morris.
Coll. Fortescue.	Coll. Carter.
Coll. Buller.	Coll. Doyly.

Resolv'd:

That it be proposed to General Penn and his Officers, that as the land forces do promise never to desert the Fleet, that General Penn and his Officers mutually engage with the Land forces not to leave them until their Supplies come, which if they should miscarry, then to transport them back to England.

That it be propos'd to the commissioners that a large proportion of Shipping be provided to transport the Army, lest by pestering the Ships infectious diseases should consume the Forces, and so endanger if not overthrow the design.

That Soldiers Wives (who offer to carry their own Provisions) may be transported to take care of sick and wounded men.

That old Linnen be provided for the Chyrugeons. That we do not march hence under at least twenty Tunn of Ball. That we have Ten Tunn of Match before we march hence.

That before we part hence we have from the Fleet, Two thousand Fire Arms, Six hundred Pikes, besides Pistols, Carbines, and Two Hundred half Pikes, and that they be presently set on shore.'

We desired at the same time copies of the Invoyces. After long delay one was deliver'd, and Immediately by Pool Borrowed from Mr Cary, and would never be redelivered till the Day we left

Barbadoes. [We] were forced to leave it with the commissioners for Prize Office there. But of this more hereafter, with Cary his Testimony concerning the same.

Our Stores not coming I sent to General Penn to know what Arms, Shot, and Match, he could spare (for General Desbrow had assured me and the Officers in England, that what was in the Fleet was and should be for the carrying on the Service, and at the commissioners disposal, and that there was enough to serve both us and the Fleet for some good time): he returned me an Account of Fifteen Shot a Man was all he could spare of his Ball, [and] a few Tuns of Match. But though he had many hundred of Pikes in the Fleet to spare, and Lances to kill cows (which were for our use as well as the Fleets), yet we could not get one Pike or Lance, only some few half and quarter Pikes. Wherefore I was necessitated to set all hands to work to make half Pikes (the Timber of that country not being fit for long ones), which yet were so bad that I suppose Tom Tinker or Tom a Bedlam in England marches with better Weapons.

Upon our arrival there I found all Mens arms unfixed; our Gun Smiths tools were in the Store Ships and were denied to be sent with us, so that our want of Smiths Tools and making of half Pikes hindred us from fixing our Arms,[1] and the officers from exercising their Men, except a very little before we came from thence. We were ordered to take up Provisions there, and charge Bills of Exchange at home, but I suppose it was known to others, though not to me, That no Provisions were to be gotten there, for so I found by experience, and the rates much higher than what they were in England for what I bought myself. So that these with some other reasons caus'd Mr. Winslow, one of the Commissioners, to say to diverse of the Officers that we were betray'd, and that if it had been in the late Kings Reign he would have declared so. Notwithstanding all these difficulties I continued forward and cheerful, until such time I heard the

[1] 'Having our arms in readiness,' Lee-Townshend MS.

Seamen speak of going home, which raised some doubts among the Officers that they intended to leave us (which was promised in England they should not until another fleet came), and then we saw we must perish. Another fell in the rear of this [1] was, that upon coming from Barbadoes the Seamen had their allowance, and our Landmen were reduced to half (by what order I know not), and that given them but four days in the week, and the other three fish [2] Days the Seamen had their Victuals with Brandy and the Landmen had only Bread (and that most beastly rotten), and Water. Which brought them so low that at landing they fell down and some of them into the Water, as the Rear Admiral observ'd; and the Vice Admiral marching along with us with a Regiment of Seamen, seeing our Mens weakness said, that the fortnights weakening at Sea with bad Provisions would not be recovered with two Months good diet at Land. And though the Officers complained of their bad Bread, it was answered, the Bread was bought by the Commissioners at Barbadoes, and must be spent, which it might have been without prejudice if delivered out for one day in a Week to all Seamen and Landmen.[3] And here I must Query, whether the bad Bread in the Fleet was not given the Landmen upon this pretence? It is true the Provisions were bad, so that they were refused by the Fleet in England, and therefore sent by the Victuallers of the Navy to Barbadoes to be Sold; which we were forced to buy rather than starve, being our own Stores came not to us, preferring bad food before none.

We left Barbadoes the last of March, and by the way dispatch'd some business at St. Christopher's, where we took in a Regiment of Foot, and then when we came from St. Christophers we mustred on board, and finding great want of Arms, we once more desired a supply from the Fleet, (who had above a Thousand two hundred Pikes to spare, and a large quantity of lances), but were

[1] 'Another grand trouble and discouragement was,' Lee-Townshend MS.
[2] 'Fast-Days,' Lee-Townshend MS.
[3] 'Seamen and landsmen alike,' Lee Townshend MS.

refused by General Penn the loan of one Pike or Lance (tho the Lances were put on board for the Army to kill cows). So that we were constrain'd to use half Pikes shorter by two foot than the enemy's, which gave them great advantage against us. Our next business (which lasted long and was interwoven with other debates) was a clause in the commissioners Instructions from his Highness, that they should dispose of all Preys and Booties got by Sea or Land towards the carrying on of the present Service and design; which when it came into agitation I told the commissioners, I Conceiv'd it was to be understood of ships and their Lading, or of large quantities of Treasure or goods in Towns or Forts. For if, as they understood, it were to be intended of all sorts of Pillage, it was not possible to be put in Execution, besides I did fear it would disgust the Army, and turn them against me; And if I lost the Officers affections I conceiv'd it would utterly disable me to serve his Highness: For this was so contrary to what had been practis'd in England, as I doubted it would be impossible to satisfy them; and how to bring them from Pay and Plunder both (which they had in England) to have neither Pay nor Plunder, without the providing of some fit medium I thought was impossible. The thing was imparted to the Officers, and a fortnight's Pay propounded to them in Lieu of their Pillage of Sancto Domingo. The Officers being in Arrears, and many of them coming in hopes of Pillage into a country where they conceiv'd Gold as plentiful as Stones, demanded three Months. I with entreaty drew them to accept of Six weeks Pay, and in this time of dispute I drew up a declaration that did satisfy the Officers, and the Commissioners did so far approve of it as that they gave order to have it drawn fair, for each Regiment one, that they might subscribe it. The order follows.

'By the Commissioners appointed by his Highness for managing the Affairs of America with the consent of the Officers—Whereas it hath been the Practice of the ablest Commanders and best ordered Armies that ever hath been, not only to make Strict Laws but Execute the same with like strict severity upon such Officers and

Soldiers as should Pillage or Plunder without Licence, or conceal what they had so Pillaged and not bring it to the publick Store or Stock, in regard many Armies have been thereby ruin'd and destroy'd, when they have had the Victory in possession, yet by that only fault have given the Enemy Opportunity to wrest the same out of their hands, as the French at Gariglian[1] and the Venetians at Tacobut. Also because the Men that usually performed the Service of the day lye Slain, Wounded, or have the Enemy still before them, so that without iminent ruin they cannot seek after Spoil, but persons whose deserts merited little or nothing in the Service of the day carry away the profit of the whole success, to the singular discouragement of brave resolutions who usually get nothing but blows, The injustice of which caus'd David to make it a Military Law (1st Sam. xxx. 24), to give equal share to every person of the Army though not present in the Action. And though the equity of the thing carry enough with it to justifie the proceedings of Antiquity against so great an Evil, the disorder being of so dangerous a consequence, and contrary to Reason and Religion that a few persons (who are usually the least deserving) should carry away the whole reward of the Victory and success purchas'd by the Blood and hazard of all.

Wherefore it is his Highness special command to us that we should rectifie so great a disorder, crept so far into Modern Armies, and that a just accompt be taken of the Pillage and the booties, to the end that an equal distribution may be made thereof to all Persons, (according to his Highness Instructions) according to every Mans quality and Merit. It is therefore hereby order'd, That no Persons of what degree or quality soever do presume to Pillage without Licence, or to conceal, detain, or keep to his own private use or profit, any Arms, Money, Plate, Jewels, or Goods whatsoever, upon pain of forfeiture of his Interest in the whole Pay or Pillage, and likewise to suffer the Pain of Death for the said Offence. And it is hereby further order'd and declared, that Officers shall be

[1] *i.e.* Garigliano, A.D. 1503.

chosen by mutual consent, and Sworn to receive and dispose of all Pillage and Booties, according to every mans place, quality, and desert; And the said Officers shall take an Oath to Execute the said place justly and truly; And the distribution shall be made by the advice of persons chosen by the Officers and Soldiers according to each Mans quality and Merit. Given under our hands this [1] day of

ROBERT [2] VENABLES.
WILLIAM PENN.'

But when all things were made ready the commissioners (General Penn and my self excepted) refus'd to sign the order, which gave the Officers great Offence, who to satisfie the commissioners had several of them agreed to sign the ensuing declaration, in case the commissioners would have signed the foregoing order.

'Whereas we have Receiv'd an order from his Highness commissioners for managing the Affairs of America, declaring his Highness instructions to them, and thereby requiring an Exact accompt from them of all Prizes and Booties taken by Sea or Land, that so every Officer and Soldier may receive an equal share according to their several qualities, places, and deserts, and for the carrying on of the publick Service; and being [satisfied] by the Reasons alledg'd in the same of the injustice, dangerous inconveniencies, and unreasonableness, of that too frequent and unreformed disorder that a few (and those usually that perform least of the Service) should engross to themselves what is purchas'd by the Blood and hazard of all the forces, We do wholly approve of the order; and also engage for our selves that we will not Violate the same, but endeavour to cause all under our several Charges and Commands to give Obedience to the said Command, and to bring all Offenders against the said Law and order to Punishment, and shall (after our respective pay is discharged) acquiesce in the disposing and issuing forth of the remainder by the said

[1] Dated April 11, 1655 in Mr. Lee-Townshend's MS., and also in Povey's version.
[2] In this MS. wrongly given 'Richard.'

Commissioners, either as rewards to deserving Persons, or for necessaries to carry on the Service, and if necessity require to lend our Pay to provide the said necessaries, as the Commissioners shall appoint, and (if the Lord shall bless us with so high success) in returning the overplus to ease the burthens of our dear Native Country, for whose sake, next to the Glory of God, this design is undertaken.'

So that had not pertinac[it]y and weakness blinded the Commissioners they had got the disposal of all into their own hands, only by Yielding so far as to give discontented persons (whom by force they could not compel) a few fair words, which I suppose no wise Man would have refus'd when so much inconvenience must follow the denial.

But myself, being as well a Commissioner as a Soldier, was put to a great streight, I being wholly a stranger to the Army, which occasion'd me to tell Mr. Winslow that it would cause the Army to disgust me, and so make me incapable of doing any Service, having lost the hearts of the Officers. For several of them charg'd me with neglect to them in sideing with the Commissioners to take away their Priviledge; for they were wont to have Pillage when they took any place by storm in England, and so had both pay and Pillage; and now being in a strange country, where they had no Pay, to be denied Pillage much exasperated their Spirits, having no confidence in me. For I had neither Officer nor Soldiers that had experienced my faithfulness to them, but they were all strangers to me, and I to them. I was necessitated to entreat the Officers to trust me, assuring them I would endeavour their advantage, and that for my own perticular I should disclaim anything of right or advantage, and wholly endeavour theirs, and so entreated them to Accept of Six Weeks Pay from the Commissioners, if God should give them the Place, which they consented to at my request. I mov'd the Commissioners to join with me to assure it to the Soldiers, but it was denied me, and then I was forc'd to make a new request to the

Soldiers: that they would venture their Lives as I should do mine and trust God for the reward; which they assented to, but withal many of them declared that they would never strike stroke more where shonld be Commissioners to controul the Soldiers, but would return for England with speed. And thus the business about dividing the Bears skin before kill'd was laid aside, and let sleep for a time; but it will wake much more fierce than formerly, for if it were dissatisfaction at first, it will prove mutiny when ripe. In conclusion myself and Officers, with some of the Commissioners, propounded and insisted upon it to run the Fleet into the Harbour of Domingo; yet the Fleet oppos'd, and would not, pretending a boom (which though Cox our guide who but a little before came thence deny'd) so that their denial and refusal constrain'd us upon a Resolution to Land at the River Hine, and hearing there was a Fort and a Trench we Voted to try to force them, and to that end passed the Votes following:—

'At a Council of Warr held on board the Swiftsure the 7 of April,[1] 1655, where myself and the Colls. of the several Regiments were present:—

Resolv'd—

That the Army land at the River Hine.

That the Regiments cast lots who shall land first.

That two or three be landed at once.

That the seconds to each Regiment be appointed.

That the Ships in which each Regiment is transported be ordered to Sail very near in company, for the better ordering the several Regiments at landing.

That it be ordered what Boats shall take the Soldiers in, according as lot and command shall require.

By myself and the Field Officers of the Army on board the Swiftsure, April 10th, 1655,

Resolv'd—

[1] Should be April 10.

That in case the Surge of the Sea go high, and the Fort and Trench be defended, that the Army land to the Leward behind the second point.

Resolv'd—

That after the Army is landed a Regiment be order'd to the East of the City, provided General Penn engage to supply them with all necessaries.

The Regiment is Coll. Bullers by Lot.

Instructions to the several Colls. about Landing in pursuance of the foregoing votes.

1. That the Regiments which land first at the River Hine (if we land there), and that the ditch at the landing be defended and within Shot (or if not defended), then they are to advance against the Enemy, and to pass the same, but if it be out of Shot and not defended, then to stand still till all be landed; but if at the more Westerly, then to draw up and stand till all be landed.

2. In case we find no Opposition, then none to march away, but all in Seyniority as their due.

3. The signal a piece of white Cloth or Paper upon the left Arm.

4. That the word be Religion.

5. In case the Enemy Oppose, each Man is at Landing to advance to relieve where there is most necessity.'

These things thus ordered Mr. Winslow came and told me that General Penn had sent Cox forth, and that he seeing a Vessel bearing away from the rest of the Fleet, ask'd who it was, and what he went about; he was answered it was Cox, and that the General had sent him. Upon which I went to General Penn, and asked for Capt. Cox (who with one Mr. Bounty had been taken in at St. Christophers as guides, both of them being lately come from Hispaniola, where Cox had served many Years a Gunner in the Castle of St. Domingo). General Penn told me he had sent him forth to gain intelligence. I ask'd further, if he would return to be our Guide when we landed; he answer'd he

would, for he had orders so to do. I reply'd, it was well if he did.

I then began to put the Regiments that were to land with myself into readiness for landing, delivered out my fore mentioned Instructions to the several Colonels, and the next day when I took leave of General Penn and Mr. Winslow they gave me order to prohibit Plundering, which I told them I would do by publishing the order accordingly. I then ask'd for Cox (who the Seamen said they saw a few hours before returning to us).

General Penn said he was before me on board the Vice Admiral, whither I was then going. I ask'd for Fearnes and Bounty, that one of them might stay with the Fleet when Cox left them to march with us by land. He said they must stay with him to bring the Fleet (which any Shallop would have done) to an Anchor. I replyd one of them was sufficient for that, we might want two; but he would not part with either of them.

When I came aboard the Vice Admiral I was discoursing with some Officers about what we were to do, and presently enquired of the Vice Admiral whether we were yet fallen into the River Hine? He replyed he knew not. I then asked for Cox. He said he was not on board, nor returned back, that he knew of, since the General sent him, and that he had no guide but one Sabada, a Dutch Man, nor any guide nor order for landing at Hine River.[1] I told him it was the place we designed to land at, and that we would attempt that place before we went to the Leward Point. He said he durst not venture the Fleet without a Pilot in a strange and dangerous place. I desir'd him to send for Fearnes or Bounty, or return with the Fleet to General Penn. He said he could not; the wind was against us, and that we must go to the Leward Point. I then protested my dissatisfaction at these passages, and so per force was carried to the West Point, which occasioned a long and tedious March Forty Miles or thereabouts in a Woody Country we knew

[1] Compare the letter of Venables to Montague, May 26, 1655. Carte, *Original Letters*, ii. 48.

not, and without any Guide save Heaven ; the land burnt up with a drought, so that our Horses and Men (the sun being in our zenith) fell down for thirst (but if any had the least Liquor pour'd into him he recovered, otherwise died immediately) ; our very feet scorched through our Shoes with the Sand and Gravel, there being no grass save in Savanas ;[1] and the heats in this torrid Zone at the highest, the nights cold and much dews ; which with eating Oranges for thirst (wanting water), made our Men (after their former bad and short diet) more apt to the Flux. In this Condition we march'd four days to come to the place we should and might have landed at the first day, and have prevented all this trouble, sickness, and the Enemys summoning in the whole Country to oppose us. And to add to our misery many of our Men (who thought to have had three days Provisions,[2] but were by some Seamen put on Shore, by whose fault I know not, with one only days Victual), were ready to sink down with extream faintings. At this place we made a signal and desir'd to pass over the River. By the Votes of the Council of Warr before mentioned Coll. Buller was to land to the East of the City. I gave him order also not to attempt against it, the Haven being betwixt him and the City, till the Army appear'd on the other side ; lest if he were repuls'd in so dangerous an attempt it might heighten the Enemies resolves ; but in case he could not land to the East, then to observe the Commissioners orders till he joyn'd with the Army. No place being found to land him to the East of the City,[3] he was landed at Hine River the day we came to it, with order not to stirr from thence till we came to him ; but he disobeyed that order, and march'd away with Cox our only Land Guide, (who return'd to General Penn in our absence,) which caused us to march ten or twelve miles about, not knowing the Foord, to fast two days longer, which almost destroy'd our weak and fainting Men, and brought

[1] 'Save in one Savania,' Povey's MS.
[2] See *Memorials of Sir William Penn*, ii. 81.
[3] *Ibid.* ii. 81, 82.

along with it so many inconveniences as blasted all our resolves. He suffering his Men to straggle it caus'd the Enemy to lay an ambush for him, as Himself confess'd, into which we fell, and necessity forcing our retreat it encourag'd the Enemy. All which is Evidenc'd ; though Death hath prevented me of many Witnesses, yet the ensuing Letter, which was sent me from a Coll. of the Army, dated from Jamaica the 14th March 1655, and declares both our resolves as to runing the fleet into the Haven, and Bullers words and Actions, as it is now mention'd.

' Honoured Sir

Whereas I hear they accuse you for choosing to land at Point Nizaoe, I knew 'twas not your Choice, and all Men will believe it when they consider what little command you had of the Fleet; and I remember well you were so far from wishing well to a long march, that you desir'd to have landed at the very City it self. But it was affirm'd at the debate that there was a Chain lying cross the mouth of the Harbour to hinder passage in, which was affirmed by so eminent a person as none of the Pilots would contradict it, whilst they were in the Cabin, though I can depose that afterwards without one of them, who had not long since been there, did affirm to me there neither was, nor did he believe there could be any such thing.

What the sufferings of the Army were in your March I cannot know otherwise than by relation, and by the expe[ri]ence of my own and Coll. Bullers men in much a shorter way, which was but from Hine River to the two New Plantations, which could not be above Six Miles, and yet brought our Men to that Extremity for want of Water that I never heard the like complaint as was the next morning amongst them. A Condition we fell into through the forwardness of Coll. Buller to March from Hine River, where we landed, and were appointed to expect the Army, or that message you were to send to the Rear Admiral for Provisions; he himself confessing, both in his Letter to General Penn and Mr. Winslow

on board, and likewise to the Officers of that Party, that he had no orders to March.[1] I likewise knew that a Party was sent forth by him the next Morning, commanded by his Major Bland, and guided by Cox, to discover the Fort of St Hieronimo, and to get some intelligence of your March with the rest of the Army; these stay'd so long at the meeting of the ways, which was about half a Mile from the Fort, as Coll. Buller wondered at it. I thereupon offer'd to march with a small Party to them to know what was the Occasion of their stay; and as I remember Bland told me they were ordered there to remain to expect the Armys coming up; which he was confident would not be long, if the news was true which was brought to his Coll. upon the March the day before by a Soldier who stay'd behind at Hine Bay, which was that he saw a Man come to the River side with two Collours upon a Pike. I ask'd him how far the Fort was from thence where he and his Party stay'd. He said it was hard by, and that a little within the Wood I might plainly see it; which I desir'd to do, and took Cox the guide with me, who led me by a small path about Musket shot through the Wood to a piece of fallen Ground which lay next adjoining to the Fort, and about a quarter of a Mile distance from it. Having seen the Fort, and having Blands answer I return'd with it to Coll. Buller, the Party still remaining there till the Armys coming up. But as it seems to me, that free and often looking on the Fort had caus'd those Men to be discover'd thence, and brought that ambuscado forth into whose hands your honour had like to have fallen; for I have heard Coll. Buller say, he did believe that ambush was laid for his Men, and not for the Army.'

This letter was writ to me from Coll. Richard Holdipe, in answer to one of mine when I Petition'd and expected to be Call'd to give an Account of all my transactions.

This following certificate was writ by Mr. Henry Cary, Secretary to his Highness Commissioners.

[1] For a defence of Buller's conduct see 7th *Rep. Hist. MSS. Comm.* p. 572.

'I underwritten Testifie, that being present in the great Cabin aboard the Paragon, I heard General Venables ask of Vice Admiral Goodson whether they were yet fallen in with the River Hine (or words to that purpose), that they might try to land there; whereupon the Vice Admiral reply'd that they had over shot it, as he thought. Whereat the General wondring, and saying that it was resolv'd to land there if they could, he further added that he had no orders to stop there. This discourse happened on the 13th of April 1655, which I am ready to Confirm by Oath if need require.'

HENRY CARY.

I mentioned before the Commissioners order to me, which as soon as we were landed, according as they required, I publish'd, (that order against all Plundering and that whatever was gotten should be brought into a publick Stock), And acquainted the Officers with the Commissioners order which followeth.

By the Commissioners appointed by his Highness for ordering and managing the Affairs in America.

'We taking into our serious Consideration upon our near approach to the city of Domingo, a place that we have resolv'd to make the first attempt upon in order to the present Expedition in the West Indies, conceive it a just and meet thing that some more than ordinary encouragement be given to the Army; and the rather because if God shall be pleased to put it into our hands we may not admit of Plunder, for that his Highness intends to plant a Collony of English there; and therefore do declare that if the said city of Domingo shall refuse to surrender upon a fair Summons, and force the Army to take it by storm, that then the Army shall have one moiety of all that shall be taken (except Arms, Ordnance, Ammunition, and other Royalties), Vizt: of such Goods as shall be brought into the Publick Stores. Or in case General Venables shall promise them a Months Pay, or Six Weeks Pay, we shall be ready to assist him in it, Provided the place be able to make it

Good, and we in any measure enabled to carry on the design, And withal Provided that the Soldiers break not this agreement by Plunder. And in case it shall be taken by surrender, and that the General shall promise them such an encouragement as the said conditions will admit, Vizt: one third part of what shall be taken, or three Weeks Pay, except before excepted, the Commissioners will assist the General therein also; and the General is desired to Issue out his Orders accordingly to his Officers to prevent Plunder, and so consequently that ruin that would thereby be brought upon the Army it self. Given under our hands the 13th day of April 1655,

William Penn.
Edward Winslow.
Gregory Butler.'[1]

But their Spirits were by former discontents so exasperated, that [what] would at first have been willingly accepted of with love and thankfulness was now rejected, And the Sea Men first of all, then all the rest, fell into Mutiny; and some said that I was but one Man, and could not hang all the Army, and that whilst they had no Pay they would have all they could get. Of all which I certified the Commissioners, withal assuring them that I now found my former fears to come to pass, That they would destroy my Interest in the Army by their unseasonable and unreasonable pertinac[it]y in refusing the Officers motions, but that having discharg'd my Duty in observing their orders and his Highness Instructions, I shall satisfie my own Heart therein whatever the events were. Whereupon they sent me a further order, but all too late; for Passion having usurp'd the seat of Reason nothing would be heard, and the reins of Government being loosed would not now be endured to restrain their will, and my Interest being lost all my endeavours were to no purpose. In this discontented humour we march'd in a most sad and miserable manner in an unknown

[1] Another proclamation signed only by Venables is printed in the Report of the Duke of Portland's MSS. ii. 91. Butler's name is erroneously given as George both in Long's and in Povey's MSS.

Country, tormented with Heat, hunger, and thirst (my self enduring what the meanest suffered), until the fourth day after we came to the River Hine, where we purposed and might have landed at first (as is before related); where we were by Cox inform'd there was a ford, which we search'd for, but could find none in half a Mile, and hearing that Buller was march'd away, and Cox with him, we conceiv'd they were gone up the River to meet us, and supposed the Ford was above higher, but we left it at the influx of the River into the Sea, an unusual place to find a Ford in, and never thought of. [1] Whereupon we march'd five Miles, but no Ford to be found, we quarter'd that night without water, and the next morning after three Miles March more we found one, and then pass'd the River with resolution to march to the Harbour to take in Ammunition and Provision, and to refresh our weary sick and fainting Men with some rest; but hearing Coll. Buller and Holdipes Drums I desir'd if possible to send to them to come to us, this being now the fifth day after we had begun with our three days Victuals, though some had but one days victuals. We march'd towards the Ships and finding a Farm House with Water we halted thither, and I commanded a Captain out with some Men to seek out the way, but ordered him to enquire of a Spaniard who lay bed-rid which was the nearest and best way to the River where our Ships rid at Anchor; but he neglected to go, because the Spaniard could not or would not tell him the way, yet never gave any account that he stay'd, so that my self not knowing thereof stayed three hours waiting for his return. As the last, finding he was not gone, I call'd him out, and call'd some Officers to debate, and Capt. Butler, one of the Commissioners (who was with us all the march): an old Irish Man was brought in, who offer'd to bring us within two miles of a River

[1] 'This ford was at the mouth of the river which is the general rule in the W. Indies, where the Sea Breeze and current usually cast up a Bar of Sand over which the Water is extremely shallow, so that though there is depth of Water on each side the Bar for large vessels, yet upon the Bar itself nothing but a canoe can pass without grounding.' This note is added in the margin by another hand.

where we might come at our Ships. My self was suspicious of him after examination, lest he came to betray us (and the sequel prov'd my jealousie not to be groundless); but Capt. Butler press'd with great earnestness to believe him, saying he durst pawn his life he was honest, and charg'd me by virtue of my Instructions to follow his Advice, and some of the Officers being so pressing, I durst not refuse, it being part of my Instructions to steer my course by the advice of the Commissioners, or by reason of the Death or absence of the rest, of one; but after three miles March and no River appearing, our Men fainting, he said he only spoke of Water which was near and the Ships also, but sending a Party no Water in a Miles March to be found. We met with Coll. Buller and his Guide, Capt. Cox, who promised Water, which was glad tidings. We march'd towards it, but Coll. Bullers Men having quartered thereabouts had rambled up and down for Pillage, which gave the Enemy occasion to place an ambush, which fell upon our forlorn which they routed, and slew several Officers (former light matters I pass as not worth the mentioning), but were instantly beaten back with loss, and pursued within Cannon Shot of the Town, where our Men, being with the Skirmish drawn on, forgot that thirst which when the fight ended they fainted under, several Men and horses dying with thirst upon the place. A Council of War being call'd, and the Condition of the Army being stated, which was this; some had fasted four days, save the fruit they found in the Woods (unfit for men to live upon); their Match spent to three or four Inches; no Water, the Spaniards having stop'd up all their Wells within several Miles; our men fainting; our Ships not to be Come unto in that place. If we went on we must leave the Town betwixt us and our Fleet, and by consequence betwixt us and our Victuals and Ammunition. We had neither ladders, Guns, nor any Man that knew the Town or Country (for Capt. Cox was slain in the Skirmish).[1] To return was to encourage the Enemy, and to discourage our Men. To Carry fainting and almost famished Men

[1] See *Memorials of Sir William Penn*, ii. 85.

upon a storm, in the dark night, in an unknown place, where we could not Choose the fittest Place to assault, after some had fasted five, and all two days, without Ammunition, was thought madness, and therefore our former resolution, from which the Irish Mans relation by Capt. Butlers peremptory Counsel diverted us, was taken up as the best. The four miles we had advanced out of our way lost us in that marching back many Men and Horse through want of meat and water. These reasons were then propounded, and since sent in a letter by me to Coll. Doyly. His Answer follows.

Jamaica, July 12th 1656

'Sir,

For the matter of the Allegations you mention, and the reasons of our not falling on St. Domingo, though I doubt my relation will be little advantageous to you now, the Protector having wisely and prudently judg'd your case, not by the uncertain event of Warr, but by your own deportment; yet I must in honour of Truth and justice affirm the reasons in your letter to be the very same that were then given, which I perfectly remember.

Yours,

Edward Doyly.'

We stay'd at the Harbour three or four days, takeing in of Ammunition, Victuals, and other necessaries, and to refresh our Men. We again advanced with a Mortar Piece to take the Fort where the Enemy had laid his Ambush about a Mile short of the Town, and two small Pieces drawn by Men. But when we came to the same place our Men in the forlorn commanded by Adjt. Genl. Jackson fell into an ambush, going against order without any Parties to search the Woods, and with their Pikes in the rear, contrary to order given at the first landing, in regard that in forty miles March we never saw above three Savannas, the whole country being a continual Wood, where not above four could march a breast and an hundred might trouble Ten thousand. Besides, himself having the charge of the Party, put a Lieutenant and a

Captain in the head of them before him, and himself brought up the rear. The Ennemy suffered without lett our Men to march on, who went just into the midst of danger (being ready to faint with thirst, having march'd eight miles without water), and then Charg'd them. The Van recieved the Charge, and fired orderly, but the Rear ran away, and Jackson the first Man of all. The way being narrow they ran upon my own Regiment, who charg'd their Pikes at Jackson and his Men to keep them back; but they would not be stayed, but routed first that Regiment, then Major General Haynes's regiment.[1] The Enemy followed eagerly, gave no quarter, so that the Major General and all our best Officers, who scorned flight, fell in that Action. But the Sea Regiment coming on with my self and Vice Admiral Goodson in the head of them, with our Swords we forc'd the runaways into the Woods, rather choosing to kill them than they should rout us; which the Enemy seeing retreated, so that we recovered the dead Bodies and place of fight, which ground we kept though the Enemy's Cannon from the Fort swept away our Men by eight or nine at a shot. The Mortar piece was drawn up to play, but such was the terrour, or sloth, or both, that had possessed our Men, that not a man would work (for any rewards) to plant it. I had now been troubled for a fortnight with a grievous Flux, which had so weakened me (besides the pains of the day) that I could not go except supported by two, and thus I went from place to place as the Cannon play'd to encourage the Men to stand and to plant the Mortar Piece; and at last fainting I was forc'd to leave the care [of it] to Major General Fortescue, who could prevail no more than my self had done. So resting there that night to bury our dead a Councel of War was call'd of all the Colls. and several Field Officers, where (no man dissenting) it was Voted that the difficulty of thirst was not to be overcome, the Enemy having barrocaded the way, and plac'd ambushes, so that we might dye of thirst (though we should beat them) before we could come to our Ships, who near the Town had

[1] See *Memorials of Sir William Penn*, ii. 89.

found a place to land Water and all necessaries, which they had in readiness for us. as they inform'd us; and therefore resolv'd next morning to retreat at Sun rising. if the Mortar Piece could not play before, which we did accordingly. In this last Action our men shewed themselves so heartless that they only followed the Officers to charge, and there left them to dye, except they were as nimble footed as themselves; entreaties, persuasions, reasons, not prevailing to stay them, though they neither were able nor knew whither to run with safety. Our planters we found most fearful, being only bold to do mischief, not to be commanded as Souldiers, nor to be kept in any civil order; being the most prophane debauch'd persons that we ever saw, scorners of Religion, and indeed men kept so loose as not to be kept under discipline, and so cowardly as not to be made to fight; so that had we known what they would have prov'd, we should rather have chosen to have gone ourselves, as we came from England, than have taken in such to our assistance, who, we fear, with some others put upon us in England, have drawn this heavy affliction upon us, dishonour to our Nation and Religion. How sensible the Commissioners were of our streights and the cowardice of our Men, let their own letter to the Governour of Barbadoes (written in my absence) speak.

'Sir,

We are ashamed of the cowardice of our men, which yet continueth, and were not the enemy as cowardly as themselves, they might with a few destroy our Army, or else the Officers must leave their charges, and charge the enemy in a body together; nor will they be brought to go on again (we mean the body of the Army), and to say the truth your Men and the Men of St. Christophers lead all the disorder and confusion. But having conferred with the Officers this day they all agree that these People will never be brought to March up to that place again. This hath made us to take up a new resolution (to our great grief and anguish of

Spirit), Vizt: to attempt Jamaica in the next place, and therefore desire you to send our Stores thither, if they be not as yet sent away; and if the Great Charity be not there, not at all to send our Ordnance, Mortar Piece, Shells, and Balls for the Great Gunns, but keep them with you till further order; but if she or any other Man of War come with them, then ship them in her, and let them go with the Stores, but carry the foremention'd back for England when the Stores are landed at Jamaica; And in case they should not find us at Jamaica then let all return for England. But General Penn will write to the Commanders of any Men of Warr or Store Ships more particularly, whose orders therein we pray you have special respect unto, if they shall be produced. Time will not permit us to tell you of every particular, nor to set out the worth of our General, how he sought by all Means to stop the base flight of our Men, and how our Men, nay Horses also (which are of little use in this thicket for fight) fell down upon their March, some dying with thirst upon the place, (but if strong Water or ordinary Water were but pour'd into them they instantly rose up and march'd). How valiantly Capt. Carpenter hath behav'd himself [sic]. Capt. Paulet is slain in this last engagement, but whether of wounds in the back or forward as yet we know not. Thus you see our sad condition. We pray you present our respects to the Comissioners for the Prize Office. That God will be pleas'd to enable us to make a right use of this great affliction is the earnest desire of,

Sir, Your humble Servants,
William Penn, Edward Winslow, Gregory Butler.
From abord the Swiftsure, the 28th Apr., 1655.'

This clause also in a Letter from Capt. Carpenter, Vizt: 'In the last fight my Horse was shot under me, and I was carry'd away on foot in the throng, and spake to you as I met you bringing up the Sea Regiment to our relief, and beating up the remainder of the Major Generals Regiment to make them face the Enemy, and

did afterwards tell you of the cowardice of Adjutant Jackson as the loss of our honours &c.' But not to excuse ourselves wholly, we fear we did trust too much in the Arm of Flesh, having so great an Army as England never sent into these parts before; and indeed our Number in this Woody Country was our trouble, not strength. In our first encounter we had some further discouragement from the Seamen. Our sick and wounded Men sent on board (for tents and carriages had none), were kept upon the bare deck forty eight hours, and had neither Meat, Drink, nor dressing, so that worms bred in their wounds, and Capt. Leverington, a Gallant Man, dy'd thereby, and our Victuals sent us on shore (as though we were not thirsty enough) unwatered, and even candid[1] with Salt, so that our Men Could not eat it till necessity enforc'd; And General Penn after our disaster gave the Rear Admiral order, though our Victuals were spent and a day more, that he should deliver us none, Mr. Winslow the Commissioner being present;[2] the Men, whom we do not justifie, being commonly call'd Dogs,[3] and judg'd worthy (the motion being made accordingly) to be left to the enemy, and to set sail for England; this being so horrid a motion my Soul detested it, and I should never have mentioned it, had not the neglects and injuries put upon me (with my own just defence) necessitated me thereunto, that the World might see the kindness the Seamen were like to express unto us in all our wants and extremities, and as an evidence to Confirm the relation of their former hard usage from them at Sea. So soon as we were retreated to the Sea side I fell

[1] 'Candy'd,' Lee-Townshend MS.

[2] 'And whilst it was in debate what we should doe, they had none given them, and to that pass they were given that they devoured all the dogs, apes and horses in camp, and some did eat poisonous food, that (as I was informed) in a day forty died with it at once,' Lee-Townshend MS.

[3] 'It was moved that the soldiers (whom they commonly called doggs) should be left on shore to the mercy of the enemy, and set sayle for England (which horrid inhumanity my soul detested) and when they came to be shipped the officers would not suffer the regiment of Seamen to be first shipped, lest they should serve them a dogg-trick,' Lee-Townshend MS.

into examination of several miscarriages where Adjutant General Jackson was Charg'd, and the Charge prov'd upon Oath, that first, contrary to orders and my daily practice, he march'd without any to search the Woods to prevent ambushes. Secondly he took no Pikes, or very few, and plac'd them in the rear, as tho he fear'd our Horse only. Thirdly he put other Officers in the Van and himself brought up the Rear, near enough to claim honour if it were gotten, and in a safe place to run if there were occasion. Fourthly he was the first Man that was seen to run of the whole Party, and would not be stop'd, yea, for eagerness to be gone, that he at the Stop my Regiment gave him, which Caused a Crowd, with his hands took hold of them that were before and thrust them aside, that he might make way for himself to be foremost in the retreat. My self Coming up saw him upon a Pillow with a Woman by him weeping for him. I supposing him wounded, asked him how he did, he reply'd sore bruis'd. I ask'd the Woman what her concern was for him ; she said that her name was Jackson, and that her husband was slain. I told her she ought rather to look after her Husband than a stranger. All which being prov'd upon Oath before a Council of Warr, he was only sentenced to be Cashierd, and his Sword broken over his head, and to be made a Swabber to keep the Hospital Ship clean for the Health of those who by his evil conduct and cowardice were wounded. A sentence too gentle for so notorious an offender, against whom some of the Coll^{s} made complaint for whoring and drunkenness at Barbadoes; but not being able to prove the fact, though considering his former course of Life the presumption was strong, he and a Woman lodging in one Chamber together and not any other person with either, enough to enduce a belief that he was an Offender, he having two Wives in England, and standing guilty of forgery ; all which I desir'd Major General Worsley to joyn with me in to acquaint his Highness with, that he might be taken off, and not suffered to go with me, lest he should bring a curse upon us, as I fear he did; but his Highness would not hear, as Mr. Eaton of Duckinfield Church can

testifie,[1] to whom Major General Worsley related this matter in the Tower they Coming to see me ; after this both Perjury and forgery was prov'd against him in the case of Coll. . . . . a Gent. of Barbadoes ruin'd by him by that means, upon the complaint and with the advice of the said Colonell I rebuk'd him privately, which he took so distastefully that as it afterwards appear'd he studied and endeavour'd nothing but mutiny, and [to] find fit matter to work upon, as in [an] Army that has neither Pay, Pillage, Arms, Ammunition, nor Victuals will not be difficult, but this I came to understand afterwards. We also proceeded against a Sergeant who in the last skirmish threw down his arms, crying out 'Gentlemen shift for yourselves, we are all lost' and so ran away. He was hang'd with his fault written upon his breast. I must now insert a small digression : That during this and the former stay at this place for refreshment, my self being extreamly troubled with the Flux, having neither Tent nor other shelter, and the rain then falling, did for three nights go aboard to Lodge in a Ship about musket shot from the Shore, and returned in the morning. Mr Winslow came ashore to us, and press'd for a third attempt. The Officers universally declin'd leading up of their Men, but freely offer'd to Regiment themselves, so to live and die together; for their men (whom they had never known in England), being generally new raised men, or Cavaliers that had been sent to Barbadoes, and often beaten at home, and therefore found it not safe to trust to their Courage, which they had Experienc'd to the loss of many of their fellows ; but this was declin'd by Mr Winslow. Whereupon the commissioners consulted what was further to be done, [and] finding the Soldiers so cowardly, and not to be trusted or confided in, except rais'd in their Spirits by some smaller success, did therefore resolve to attempt Jamaica. During these debates the Soldiers supplies of Victuals being kept back by General Penns order, as is related, their wants were so great that they eat up all

[1] Jackson was perhaps the Major Jackson of Col. Ashton's regiment mentioned in Capt. Hodgson's account of the battle of Preston (p. 32, ed. Turner). From these references he appears to have been a Lancashire man.

the Dogs, Asses, and Horses in the Camp, and some eat Poisonous food; so that I was informed Forty six died with it at once, choosing Poison before famine. It being resolv'd that we should be shipd all to attempt Jamaica, but the Officers refus'd to permit the Regiment of Seamen to be ship'd first, lest, as it was mention'd, they should be left on shore without food, Ammunition, Medicaments, or any necessaries, to be given up to the mercy of the Enemy. But at the last all being got on board we set sail for Jamaica,[1] where the first day following [2] we landed in the afternoon; and here remembring our Mens Cowardice at Hispaniola, issued forth an order against runaways, that his next fellow should kill him, or be tried for his own life; which one observes was a neglect at Hispaniola, but he had forgot that Ex malis moribus bonæ leges nascuntur, and we could not aforehand conceive our men to be so basely Cowardly, but hop'd they had been English Men, but this nameless and shameless traducer shall have a full answer before I make an end.[3] When we came to land General Penn and myself went on board the Martin Galley (which play'd upon the Enemy' in the Fort and they upon it), the better to order things in the attempt.[4] The Wind favour'd us here, for being in the rear of our men they could not possibly row back, but must vanquish or die, and so I conceive were the bolder (necessity enforcing them), gaining with little Opposition the Enemy's Fort with some Guns. It being about three of the Clock the Officers thought it best not to march thence that night, wanting Guides, and if they should want water (which was there to be had) the men being already with want and bad diet very weak might be endangered; besides the Enemy might in an unknown place, where they could not have day to View all passages and advantages, fall into their quarters. Whereupon it was deferr'd till next morning, which

[1] May 4. [2] May 10. 'The fifth day' correctly says the Lee-Townshend MS.

[3] *Harleian Miscellany*, iii. 520.

[4] Compare *Memorials of Sir William Penn*, ii. 99, and 7th *Rep. Hist. MSS Comm.* p. 573.

being come we began our March with the Sun, and about noon came up to the Savanna by the Town, where two or three Spaniards at a distance made some signals of Civility. I commanded so many to go to them; they then rid away, and presently made a stand. I commanded one well mounted to ask what they would. They desir'd a treaty. We told them we would treat when we saw any authorized from the Governour; whereupon they went away, and next morning a Priest and a Major came to us to desire a treaty, and that they would give us what in Reason we could desire. I told them we came not to pillage, but to plant; and withal having been long at Sea with Salt Meat I expected they should send us in an hundred Cows daily for our supply, with fresh Meat and Cassavina[1] Bread proportionable, or without those Supplies I would not Treat. Whereupon they sent us in Cattle, but not bread, alledging they had not enough for us. We presently set Commissioners to work, but these desir'd that our men might not straggle for fear of their Mullatoes. We told them they were their Servants, and at their Command, and neither durst or would do any hurt but by their Command or Connivance. The treaty went on, and the articles [were] concluded on as follows.[2]

'Imprimis, That all Forts, Arms, Ammunition, Utensils, and necessaries for Warr, of what kind or nature soever, (except what is hereafter exempted), and all kind of Shipping that now is in any Harbour of this Island, with the furniture, Sails,[3] Apparel, Ammunition, Ordnance, &c. thereunto belonging; as also Goods, Wares, Merchandizes, and what else is upon the said Island, be deliver'd up unto the Right Honourable General Venables, or whom he shall appoint to receive the same, for the use of his Highness Oliver, the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, before the . . . day of this Instant Month of May, without any deceit, embezlement, or Concealment whatsoever.

[1] 'Cassavia,' Lee-Townshend MS.

[2] The treaty was signed on May 17. See *Memorials of Sir William Penn*, ii. 102–4; 7th *Rep. Hist. MSS. Comm.* p. 574.

[3] 'Tacle' according to Povey's MS.

Secondly, That all and every the Inhabitants of the Island (except those hereafter excepted) shall have their lives granted, and shall not be abused in their Persons; and that those of them that shall desire to depart this Island shall with their Wives and Children be transported to some part of Nova Hispania (Wind and weather permitting), or otherwise to some of the King of Spains dominions in America; they providing their own Provisions and Victuals necessary for the Voyage, the which they shall have the permission freely to do.[1]

Thirdly, That all Commission Officers, and none else, have liberty to enjoy and wear their Rapiers and Ponyards.

Fourthly, That liberty [be granted] to all that shall depart according to the second Article to carry with them their wearing apparel, and any books or Writings they shall desire.

Fifthly, That all Artificers and meaner sort of Inhabitants as shall desire to remain on the Island (except hereafter excepted) shall enjoy their freedom and Goods (excepting Slaves), they submitting and conforming to the Laws and Government of the English Nation, and such others as shall be declar'd by Authority to be put in use and exercis'd within this Island.

Sixthly, That all Goods and necessaries, as well Household as for draught, be continued at the several Habitations and Estancias to which they belong, and that all such Goods as have been convey'd from the places to which they belong'd respectively [and] are conceal'd or embezled, be return'd to the several Habitations unto which they appertained before the . . . day of this Instant May, and that an accompt be given in thereof unto the said Rt. Honourable General Venables or his Deputies according to the Tenour of the first Article.

Seventhly, That nothing in these present Articles be understood to Extend to any person that came to this Island upon a former Attempt under Capt. William Jackson, and then forsaking

[1] See for comments on this clause Barrington's narrative, 7th *Rep. Hist. MSS. Comm.* p. 574. They were to be transported by June 16.

their Colours revolted to the Enemy, and that the Governour do deliver the said Persons into the Power aforesaid.

Eighthly, That such Hostages or Rehenes[1] as shall be desir'd be given on the part of the Inhabitants for the true performance of these Articles, and also for the safe return of the English Ships that shall be appointed for the transportation of those that desire to depart this Island.

Ninthly, That in order to the transportation of those that shall depart the Number of them be certainly known that convenient Shipping be provided accordingly, it is agreed that the Master of every Family, or other free person of the Inhabitants of this Island that shall depart, do within . . . days after the date hereof bring unto the said Right Honourable General Venables or his Deputies a perfect List of all the Persons of their respective families for whom they expect transportation according to the precedent Articles, As likewise the Names and number of all the Servants and Slaves that belonged unto them on the . . . day of this Instant Month.

Tenthly, That a true list of all other the Inhabitants and freemen of the Island with their Names, Titles, qualities, and occupations, together with the names of their Wives, Children, Servants, and Slaves, be brought in to the said General or his deputies within . . . days after the date hereof.

Eleventhly, That for all such persons whose names shall be so delivered at the Port of Caguaya to such as shall be there appointed by the General of the fleet to receive the same for the use of the said Persons to be transported.

(12) That all Slaves Negroes and others be requir'd by their several masters to present themselves upon the . . . day of this Instant May before the Right Honourable General Venables upon the Savanna before the Town of Caguaya. to receive such favourable concessions as are intended to be made unto them touching their Liberty.

(13) That all persons that are to be transported be ready at

[1] Rehen = hostage.

the Port of Caguaya before the . . . day of this May, or be utterly excluded touching their Liberty from the benefit of these Articles.'

The Commissioners for us were :

Major General Fortescue, Vice Admiral Goodson, Coll. Richard Holdipe, Coll. Edward Doyly.

Signed by these and the Spanish Commissioners. I have the Original of these in Spanish, but whether rightly translated or no I cannot say because I understand not the Language.

The Articles being sign'd by the Commissioners I demanded the Commissioners for Hostages for performance and kept them and the Governor (whom I fetch'd in) as Hostages; but there was a Coll. amongst them Enemy to the Governour, who perswaded the People (being a Man of Interest and authority amongst them), that if they did drive away the Cattle they might starve us away. One of the Commissioners sent his Priest (who was a discreet Negar) to dissuade them from the course, but they hanged him : whereupon this Gent (Don Acosta, a Portuguise) to revenge the death of his Priest whom he lov'd, directed us how to recover all the cattle, informing us whither they had driven them into the Mountains they could not carry them, and that the cattle must come into the Plains to drink, which fell out accordingly.

I was also inform'd about this time that the Soldiers stragled abroad to kill cattle, and in regard the country was Woody, except they shot them dead (which was not usual) they ran into the Woods, and there rotted; so that as I was assured some hundreds were found thus dead, which course (if suffered) would in short time consume all the cattle, and then the Army must starve. To prevent which mischief, the Men being sometimes slain by stragling, I order'd that no private Soldier should henceforward go forth to kill cows alone, but that commanded parties should constantly be sent forth to fetch in cows for the Armys necessary supply, and for the future we were constantly furnished with beef, and this was not (as M^r^ I. S. said) 'starving in a cooks

Shop,'[1] and this rule being observed by Coll. Holdipe he had cattle. But bread we extreamly wanted which was sent us with a streight and slack hand, and also very bad, as the following Letters will Evidence writ into England by some Gentlemen to their friends, who since gave some of them (and copies of others attested under their hands) to me.

Jamaica, the 4th June, 1655.

'Loving Brother,

These are to let you know that we are at the Island of Jamaica, which is a very good Island, very fruitful of cattle. At present we are possessed of the Town and of their Houses, and the People are fled into the Mountains not daring to fight us, so that now we are spreading our Army into the country to quarter and to prevent the Enemy from getting Provision, so also to plant for our own relief; for our Shipping not coming to us hath put us to great loss and hardship, so that all the loss we had at Hispaniola was occasioned thereby, which [was] for want of Arms, Provisions, and of guides, but that you will hear all and more than all by some that came back from us; some of which I suppose came only to see Golden Mountains, and to plunder, not expecting to meet with so many difficulties as we met with, which was much occasioned by some misinformation that my Lord Protector had of the great Supplies of Men and Provisions that we should have at the Island. Which was much to their and our hurt, for they did for us what they were able, and for the Men we had from thence, for the most part [they] prov'd good for little; I dare say that one Thousand of our Soldiers that came out of England or Ireland is better than five Thousand of them, for they have been for the most part such old beaten runaways as that they know how to do little else except to Plunder; and for those we carried out of England, we now find by sad experience that but few of them were old Soldiers, but certainly most of them were Apprentices that ran from their Masters, and others that came out of Bridewell, or one Gaol or another; so

[1] See *Harleian Miscellany*, iii. 522.

that in our poor Army we have but few that either fear God or reverence Man.

But blessed be God those that are in chief place are Godly, and we have Godly teachers among us, so that I hope God will carry on his work among us, and I hope that the Lord Protector will be careful to send better Men, I mean both better Soldiers and as many Godly Men as may be, for certainly we had a great many of bad Commanders as well as bad Soldiers. How they got in I know not, but Barbadoes did discover many of them, and God will discover them I hope more and more, and weed them out from among us. Our Enemies having much time to fly away before us, did carry the best of what they had with them, they having so many Horses and carts to carry with; for this place doth abound with Horses, so that we have mounted diverse of our Men, and are about to mount more, they being of such special use to us as we find them to be. But I hope ere long they will all fall into our hands, for on the Mountains they have little to live upon, and but two narrow passages to come down, which we have sent to block up; so that I hope that work will be short. You will too soon hear what Commanders we lost before St. Domingo, but among the rest Major Forguson was slain the same day and time that Major General Haynes was slain.

Tell Mr Partington that his runaway apprentice came to me to send him home; he would be glad of the scraps that comes from his Masters Table, for indeed he and all the rest of those runaways God hath met with them to purpose; for indeed great hath been the hardships we have met with, and the streights we are now in are very great. For these Seventeen days we have had but three biskets of bread a Man, neither Officer, nor Soldier; and sometimes little or no Meat for two or three days together, and when God will send us supplies we know not. We find it somewhat difficult to get Cattle, and that is the most we live upon, and it is not a few that we shall spend in Six Months; but our eyes are towards him that knows what is good for us. We had yesterday some of

our Enemies brought in, and hope God will bring them all in, and some of our Ships are come in, but it is but little Provision they bring us. So not having else at present, I rest,

Your Loving Brother till death,

DANIEL HOW.' [1]

'These are to certifie those whom it may concern, That I being now again to go to Sea thought it convenient to leave a few lines behind me touching what I have formerly said in relation to our Voyage to the West Indies, having had several debates concerning the same with several commanders and others Persons of quality about this City, and not knowing what some may say in absence left this for Vindication of the truth by whomsoever spoken.

Q. 1st. The great Question hath been for the most part how it came to pass we had so bad success in our Voyage?

A. That it was Gods handy work for the Sins of the Nation, as also for our Sins who were very unfit Instruments for such a work, being for the most part such as were not Soldiers, and but few but such as were more than ordinary Wicked and debauch'd, and that not only private Soldiers but several Commanders also, which might justly provoke the Lord against us.

Q. 2nd. But what might be the Cause; was it through the bad carriage of the Generals, or thro' want, or how do you conceive?

A. Herein I shall give a relation in the presence of the great Lord of Heaven and Earth, according to truth, as I did apprehend things to be through the whole Voyage. We had from Portsmouth to Barbadoes a very comfortable and speedy passage, where we lay about Ten Weeks looking for our Store Ships, both for Ammunition and Provision, and seeing no supplies to come did fear some trouble in England that might possibly hinder; we fear'd the danger of the Sea also, but it did appear that it was Gods own handy work to prevent our Store Ships from Coming

[1] Daniel How was a captain in Colonel Carter's regiment.

to us; by which means we were in present want of Arms and Ammunition, as did appear that we were necessitated to take Arms from the Islanders, and to make half Pikes of Cabbage Trees and other wood, which prov'd very useful, and our arms very bad which we had, and some had none at all, which made our men very heartless. Further when we set sail from Barbadoes we then went Six Men to four Mens allowance, but all this while our Men had their health well. But when we were brought to Hispaniola and to land, there we had but three days Provision, and diverse Soldiers being put out of their Ships the day before into small vessels, and when we landed there was one day spent in landing, so that there was two days Provisions spent to some and one days to the whole, so that many had but one days Victuals to march with, and the rest but two; with which we march'd up to St. Domingo, and drew off again, and [it] was till either Thursday or Friday before we had any more Victuals, we landing on Saturday morning, in which long March we were several times in great want of Water to the great prejudice of the Army.

Q. 3rd. But why did you draw off again the first time from St. Domingo?

A. We were necessitated to it for want of Water and Provisions; for I do think had we stay'd till next day and not have taken the Town, we should have lost more than half the Army: for drawing off that night, the Army being so weak with want and weariness we could hardly draw off, and many doubtless were not able to draw off, but were lost.

Q. 4th. But how came you to be so routed again the last time when you went toward St. Domingo?

A. Doubtless there was a great fault in Jackson who commanded the forlorn, for that they were so easily routed; for this you are to know, that if a forlorn be routed in such a place as that was, where but four could march abreast, and that those that are routed turn in upon the body, that must of necessity breed a great confusion, and this was our case, and most of those men were

either no Soldiers, or old beaten runaways in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and so by their runing, or endeavouring so to do, routed those that would have stood if they Could, many of which were slain and trod down in that throng, and doubtless it fell upon the worst Regiment of all those that went out of England, for that they had the most of those new rais'd forces at the Barbadoes, many of which were good for little; and indeed this I must say, that of those we carried out of England we found there was but few old Soldiers, for I am of that Judgment that we had not above one Thousand old Soldiers in our Army.

Q. 5th. Why did you draw off again and not march into St. Domingo?

A. We were not able to do it, our Army being then so weak, and no water to be had, and we nothing to carry it with us, were forc'd to draw off in the most private way that could be, lest we should there loose all.

Q. 6th. Why did you not march up again?

A. The General calling a Council of Officers to advise with, they did unanimously refuse, as judging the Army not in capacity so to do; and the rather for that we were that time about three or four days in which we had no Provisions at all from the Ships, in which time Horses, Asses, and Dogs, were good food to our poor Soldiers, in which time Men fell down apace.

Q. 7th. But why did General Venables suffer that being one of the Commissioners?

A. He could do no more than he could do, it being in the hands of General Penn; and this I remember that a little before Major General Haynes was slain, I asked him why the Regiment of Seamen took place of our Regiment, Coll. Carter being establish'd in England, who I had heard before to take offence at it. His answer was that he desir'd me to speak no more of it; for that they were forc'd to comply with them what they could, to get that which was their own, [from] which I gather that the fault was in General Penn, and not in General Venables.

Thus being again necessitated to go on bord to get to some other place, God so ordering it by a hand of his Providence as to bring us to Jamaica; where we landed with a small portion of Victuals for two or three days, having been kept on board at half allowance to no allowance, for in Seventeen days we had but three biskets a man, and those the worst I ever saw before or since to my best remembrance; in which time during the Treaty with the Spaniards and their flying away from us all other things were hard to come by, for that the Spaniards at their flight drove away their cattle.

Q. 8th. But why were not the Soldiers suffered to go abroad to get what they could?

A. For that they were commanded upon pain of death not to go forth but by order, and that for these reasons:—

1st. Because the Spaniards had promised within so many days to come in and bring what they had.

2ly. For that after their flight they did kill diverse of our Men that did straggle abroad, so that it was thought better to send out in parties, and a Commission Officer or more to command the party.

3rdly. Because that those that did straggle abroad did do much spoyl in gathering fruits not half grown, which doubtless was a great cause of want.

Q. 9th. Was any punish'd according to the rigour of that order with Death?

A. No. But some were made prisoners, and those who were eminently guilty, and some rid the Wooden Horse, and two who were notorious swearers were whipt, and burnt through the Tongue, for that and other misdemeanors; which was done in the time of General Venables sickness a little before our coming away.

Q. 10th. But why should any be punish'd for going abroad to get relief?

A. Their going abroad was not only hurtful to the Army, in spoiling casader and fruits, but also in making the cattle wild, for they were not so, but might with ease be drawn into Penns

with Men on Horse-back. but our men shooting at the cattle wounded many, and killing but few made the cattle wild. and to run much further from us, and much harder to come by; for I heard Capt. Jones's Lieutenant say in two days, being sent to fetch in cattle, he had seen about four score wounded cattle in the Woods, some having their guts trailing after them; so that few were to be seen before we came away in those places where there were Thousands to be seen before, which being suffer'd must needs bring scarcity.

Q. 11th. But why did your General come home?

A. That one main reason was he was generally thought the fittest man to come home; for that he was best able to give an account of the affairs of the Army to his Highness. Further he had not his health, and the Doctors said he would die if he did not go on Shipboard; also he came with the consent, and as I Conceive at the desire of the Major part of the Field Officers.[1]

Q. 12th. But how did General Venables carry himself in his place?

A. He did in my Judgment carry himself like a Godly, Valiant, discreet General, exposing himself to the greatest danger, and sharing with us in our wants, and one that did in his place endeavour the suppressing of Sin and the Promotion of Godliness, and one that I conceive would have done it more had he fit Instruments for his help in that kind, which I concieve was much wanting. DANIEL HOW.'

. . . . . .

Here also followeth some abstracts of a Letter from Mr. John Daniel[2] of our affairs to his brother Coll. William Daniel, Governor of St. Johnston's in Scotland, from whom I received the particulars following.

[1] See Thurloe, iii. 523. The resolutions of the Council of War, held June 7, 1655, bear out this statement.

[2] Auditor General of the Army; this letter is printed at length in Thurloe, iii. 504, with slight variations. Povey and Long both date the letter June 13.

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The Original of another letter from M^r^ Daniel to one M^r^ Stirrope and much to the same purpose I have by me, and therefore forbear to insert it.

I then being very weak order[ed] the Council of Warr to fall about the distributing the Army into the several Plantations, that they might fall to work, and live (for the future) upon their own endeavours, and fix plantations to be supplies at hand (Europe being far of) for the further carrying on the design in what other places should be judged most fit to attempt, according to my Instructions. I sent also several Parties abroad to discover the country, and attempt upon the Enemy, and to secure the passes into the Mountains, who return'd with some Prisoners and Pillage, and shortly after most of the Regiments were sent to their several Plantations as it fell to them by lot. I press'd again for Bread, but it was answered the Men must work or rott. I reply'd their present labours must stay a time to receive the return of a crop, and if they were not supply'd till they did reap the fruit of their endeavours they would certainly be lost or rot before that day, but all as above witnessed by letter did take little effect upon those who regarded not our misery and sufferings. About this time I dispatch'd some Letters into England to give an account of our condition.

A Letter to Secretary Thurloe, June 13^th^, 1655.[1]

'Since my last we have only taken some [few] prisoners; the rest continue in the mountains, wanting Houses, Bread, &c. willing to submit, if not aw'd by a few, and discourag'd by some Soldiers that are unruly occasion'd by extream want, which to redress was the work of this day; and we hope to make them good subjects, being most of them Portuguise; the Spaniards we shall remove, and endeavour to gain all of them by our civility.

[1] This letter is also printed in Thurloe's *State Papers*, iii. 545. The same collection contains an earlier letter from Venables and Butler to the Protector dated June 4 (p. 509).

We struggle with all difficulties: about Two Thousand Men sick.[1] We fall short both in Bread and Brandy and of what was promised, if believ'd,[2] to be provid'd for us. We have not three Weeks Bread, and little Cassavy in the Country, of which the Enemy steals a share. Our Mendie daily, eating roots and fresh flesh (when any food is gotten) without Bread, or very little, we not daring on a sudden to take them from bread, by degrees accustoming them to want that which none will have Five Weeks hence, at half a bisket a Man per Diem.

There must some Block Houses be erected at the Harbours mouth, were our men able to work at such hard Labour, which indeed I fear will not be able to plant Cassavy to feed them or other necessaries to preserve Life, many preferring, nay desiring, death rather than Life. Though they have recover'd their Hearts (courage I cannot say they had) which they lost at Hispaniola, Yet I am confident they must not be the Men must carry on this design in the field, it may be they may in the Country by Planting, for I am confident had we rais'd men over England at a Venture, we should have been better fitted than by those assign'd us. These with some other reasons have mov'd the Council of Warr to desire me (if the Lord gave health) to present our condition to his Highness and Council, with some expedients, which at present are not resolv'd upon; neither am I able to enlarge, having quite spent my Spirits to give some competent Account by General Penn, who Yesterday Visited me, and told me he resolv'd for England to-morrow, a warning too short for me to be large, who am so weak after five Weeks flux, only some few days intermission.

The enclosed is a true Account of the Island which for commodities—air at least—equalizes, and scituation to annoy[3] the Spaniards exceedeth Hispaniola in the Judgment of

Sir, Your Very Humble Oblig'd Servant

ROBERT VENABLES.

[1] 'Near 3,000 men sick,' Venables to Montague, May 26. Carte, ii. 51.

[2] 'Of what was promised and wee beleeved,' Thurloe, iii. 545.

[3] MS. 'among.' Thurloe supplies the right reading.

A Letter to Mr. Noel,[1] *June* 13, 1655

'I receiv'd yours Concerning M^r^ Blake, And the other expressing my Lords mind in the managing this design, which at present we cannot put in Execution. First, because it was not positive in our Instructions, but Conditional. Secondly, In regard ther are few Plantations all along that Coast to Carthagene, and by consequence not Victuals for us. Thirdly, Carthagena itself is Five Miles distant from any fresh water, and is supply'd only with rain water kept in Cisterns, and so we not able to stay there any time. Fourthly, Our Tents not Coming, nor our Stores, we doubted the Rains (which would kill us all) would overtake us before we could gain any place of Shelter or make one, they usually on that Coast falling in the beginning of April, and destroying the Natives, if lying in the open Air as we must, and our men raw and unseason'd to the Climate. You were pleas'd to assure me by the Coll. and Commissioner Povey that one hundred Tuns of Brandy were put aboard the Fleet for the Land Men as well as the Sea Men. We find a very great failure in this, and our Men die daily, as the Physicians tell me, for want of it[2] and Bread, of which last none must taste five Weeks hence at the rate of half a bisket per diem, and fresh flesh and roots put them into Fluxes, which sweep them away by Ten and twenty per diem frequently. Our planting tools fall very short; we must have more, Forty setts a piece for Smiths and Carpenters. I am inform'd that much of our Cloathing is spoil'd at Sea with wet; a Supply of this also with Store of Iron and steel, Shoes, and Linnen, we want most. Match and flint waste daily, and not to be supply'd here; Ammunition also and a new Squadron of Ships. But I earnestly desire you to press hard for Swords, and Targets, and black Jacks; without the last not one man can march in these torrid Regions, where Water is precious and scant; and without the other we shall do little service in these

[1] Alderman Martin Noel. See Thurloe, iii. 514.

[2] See the letters of Venables to Penn. *Report on the Portland MS.* ii. 93.

perpetual Wildernesses. And if you forget Brandy, Bread, Meal, Pease, and Rice, never expect good of all that hath been expended, nor probably shall see us alive. Our wants [are] great; our difficulties are many; unruly raw Soldiers, the Major part, ignorant; Lazy dull Officers that have a large Portion of Pride, but not of Wit. Valour, or Activity; but this must not be made publick, though I desire my Lord may know it, but no more. Good Sir, stir for us with Vigour, and you will ever Oblige

Sir, your very humble servant.

ROBERT VENABLES.'[1]

A Letter to Mr. Rowe.

'I must of necessity inform you of a jarr that hath lately been betwixt Capt. Butler and myself, upon information given me of his setting the Officers in disgust against me, of which several complaints were made unto me; whereupon I told him of it, and indeed call'd him drunken sot; for when the Treaty was betwixt the French Governour and us, he was so drunk that he fell from his Horse and vomited, of which I have sufficient Witness, and my Lord Protector was much derided by them for employing such a man as he was in so honourable employment. Pray sir, If there shall be any blemishes cast upon me or the Army,[2] move the Council that they will not Credit any rumours, but leave their own thoughts free till they have heard all Parties, and judge upon clear proofs and Grounds of reason, that the old Adage, vizt. Audi alteram partem, may be my share is all. I have enclos'd sent you a Copy of a part of a Letter to Mr. Secretary Thurloe, besides my Weakness, and the scattering of the Regiments into several Plantations of the Country, and the departure of the Commissioners and Fleet which should transport from place to place, and want of Provisions makes me incapable of doing more service to my Friends.

Sir, I am Your Very humble Servant

June 14th. ROBERT VENABLES.'

[1] Again the signature is erroneously given in Long's MS. as 'Richard.'

[2] Compare the letter of Venables to Penn, May 23, *Portland MSS.* ii. 92.

These things dispatch'd General Penn prepar'd to return, and notwithstanding all intreaties, and his own promises to stay with us till a new Fleet came, which was urg'd, would not be diverted. But before he took leave he sent to me in June 1655 to sign a Post Commission, dated December the Eighth, 1654, for Mr. Poole, his Nephew, to take Charge of the Prizes, and at the same time a Warrant for his discharge from that place, which Contain'd an acquittance also; both which I refus'd to sign, and by Letter gave him my reasons, desiring that there might be an Auditor setled for that and all other Accompts that did Concern the State, but was refus'd, but my signing the Warrant and acquittance earnestly press'd, which I as Constantly denied. The discharge was not Inserted, but the Sum of his Pay left to me to Insert.

'By the Commissioners appointed for ordering and managing the Affairs in America.

Jamaica.

Whereas we lately issued out a Warrant to Mr. William Poole, Prize Officer, requiring of him to deliver unto Mr. Samuel Crave, succeeding him in the said Employment, a perfect Accompt of all such Prizes and Prize Goods as he the said William Poole hath been hitherto intrusted withal, as the Prizes and Prize Goods themselves likewise, and that we find by the Receipt of the said Samuel Crave that he hath fully and entirely performed what was requir'd of him by the said Order; We do therefore hereby declare that we fully and Completly discharge him the said William Poole of the said Employment of Prize Officer, And in Consideration of his pains taken therein and faithful Accompt etc.' . . .

There were also Letters writ by some of General Penn's Officers to some of my Friends to entreat them to perswade me to sign the Warrant (at least), but all prevail'd not with me.

Therefore I writ him the following Letter—

'Yours found me in a most weak Condition, my flux as violent as ever, no rest the last night nor this day, which makes me make use of another Pen. Concerning the Auditor, it is the place not the Person I desire to settle, and without which the State will be a great looser, and your self gave directions here to draw an order for the same, tho' since Mr Cary assur'd me you denied to sign the order. But as to Mr Poole, truly I do owe the Gentleman all just respect and shall pay it, but cannot in this particular, and therefore must remind you of former passages at Barbadoes. We intended to settle a Prize Office, and upon your mentioning Mr Poole his honesty and ability, we Offered to Commission him. You answered you had done that already. We answered, without our hands he was not our Officer, and we must joyn others with him; the Commission was press'd by us to be accepted; Invoices, Bills of Lading &c. call'd for; none could be got, till at last a Copy of some examinations, and a Copy of Invoices was brought in, which was delivered to Mr Cary, and immediately by Mr Poole borrowed back, and could never be got again, tho' often demanded; and your self Answered you saw it delivered in (when it was not to be found), which we all acknowledged, but wondred, until Mr Cary told the Reason before mentioned. Our Warrants to him to deliver anything were declin'd, and your self did answer, You would order him to Issue forth what we desir'd. We never had Checque upon him, never saw the Original Invoices, nor his Accompts; which caus'd Mr Winslow and myself to resolve to meddle no more in it, only to receive what was tendred to Carry on the Expedition. So that how I can vary from that resolution I see not, being as ignorant of what he hath done as the meanest Officer that serves under me. And tho' I do not intend hereby to blemish the Gentleman's Integrity, (I desire not to be so understood,) but profess I cannot see how I can justify my self should I discharge him (as the Paper tenderd me doth) from all things, and yet

know nothing, nor see any Charge against him, save what himself (a thing unusual) bringeth in. The Letter to his Highness I have altered to satisfie Capt. Butler, left out the beginning, and made the latter part what was first agreed upon ; for as it now is altered it speaks a plain advice from me for your return, which you know I ever declined to give. Concerning the ordering the Fleet that stays,[1] I have reason to be pressing, being so much interessed[2] with the whole Army in it, and having a Vote in all things that tend to advantage this present design, yet like to know nothing (till you are gone) what our Condition will be, and if my exceptions be against what you order its not possible to rectifie the same. I desire it again that so we may see if anything may be amended in it. Sir, Your Civilities more and more engage, and my power to acknowledge (I dare not say requite) lessens. I pray disfurnish not yourself for him whose Weakness does not a little stagger the hopes of a speedy Voyage, tho' I know God can raise from the dust. Your trouble and want of Mr Lawes I am sensible of, being my self under (I am certain) as great difficulties. My Service to the Vice Admiral and Rear Admiral, with the rest of your Officers and Capt. Poole. I beseech you Sir, think not prejudicially of me that I cannot Comply with your desires. I shall in anything in my power manifest myself

Sir, Your very real Servant
Robert Venables.'

June 18th, 1655.

Here followeth a Certificate of Mr. Henry Cary, Secretary to his Highness Commissioners, who being present at all debates knew all transactions, and was more Concern'd than ordinary about this business of Prize Goods. He fell sick at Jamaica, and in the presence of several drew the following relation, and had not weakness prevented, had enlarg'd it to all other Occurrences

[1] Penn's commission and instructions to Goodson, dated June 21, are printed in Thurloe's *State Papers*, iii. 582. [2] 'Having so much interest,' Povey.

according to a Letter he had writ to the Right Honourable the Lady K—— Viscountess Ranalaugh, who finding the Letter did much clear my Innocency shew'd the same to Mr. Secretary Thurloe, who desir'd it from her Honour to shew it to his Highnes, but would never return it back again, by which means I am depriv'd of a most singular evidence as to my Vindication, though that honourable Lady is ready to testifie what I assert. But necessity hath Confin'd me to what followeth—

'Mr. Henry Cary, Secretary to the Commissioners, is ready to depose upon Oath, being the Expressions of a dying Man, that having been an Eye Witness to all the proceedings of the Right Honourable General Robert Venables through the whole Course of this American Expedition, he judges in his Conscience and in the presence of God, that the said Right Honourable General Robert Venables is not in the least liable to those Malicious censorious reports which his Enemies Labour to asperse him withal; which that it may more fully appear, he thinks good to collect briefly every one of them as they came to his knowledge.

First, For what may be objected at the Barbadoes that he neglected the care of the Prize Goods, soe that the State might judge itself highly Cheated, He testifies that he was often present when both the said General Robert Venables and Mr. Edward Winslow did earnestly press the Right Honourable General William Penn to return them in an exact Accompt of all the Prize Goods and Prize Ships that were at any time siezed on, but he for a long time refus'd to comply with their requests, but at length presented them with a copy, (keeping the Original to himself,) which very copy was desir'd of me the Secretary by Mr. William Poole, (Constituted Commissioner of the Prize Office by General Penn alone without the Consent of the other Commissioners, and without a Cheque to controul his proceedings in case there should be any miscarriages.) under a pretence of copying out the said Papers, promising faithfully to return them again immediately; but notwithstanding he retained them so long that they were fain to be

left with the Commissioners of the Prize Office erected at the Barbadoes, there being no time left for the copying them out, we being upon the Point of departure. And that he may make an end of all that relates to the same business at once he is ready further to depose :

That the Right Honourable General Penn intending to depart for England sent a Commission to be signed by the Right Honourable General Venables, impowering the said William Poole to Act as Commissioner of the Prize Office, bearing date from the time General Penn had employ'd him in the said trust, which was refus'd by General Venables for three reasons.

1st. That he had no Cheque all along whilst he discharg'd the same.

2ly. Because there was contain'd in the same a totall and entire discharge both of the Employment of the said William Poole, as also of his Accompts, which having not been examined by any Auditor was thought very unreasonable.

3rdly. By reason General Venables and Commissioner Winslow having heretofore offered to General Penn to sign a Commission to the said William Poole he slighted their proffer. Notwithstanding the refusal of General Venables to sign the said Commission for the reasons aforesaid, General Penn gets Commissioner Butler to joyn with himself in signing it. And this is the whole truth, and nothing but the Truth, as I hope to see the face of God.

The next objection of miscarriage in General Venables is usually the landing at Hispaniola so far of from St. Domingo. In answer to which the same deponent with the same seriousness and protestations as in the former deposition testifies, That the landing so far of was extreamly Contrary both to the Expedition[1] and resolution of the said General Venables.'

General Penn during these transactions writ to me the following Letter But though Money was press'd for, yet no Auditor

[1] Expectation ?

would be established, that Mr Poole's and others Accompts might be viewed, wherefore I refus'd, but Commissioner Butler, as I was informed, signed all without scruple.

I have hitherto delay'd a Narrative of some Engagements betwixt General Penn and myself, which was thus.

At first when I came aboard I began to consider that without mutual agreement betwixt us all would be destroy'd,[1] and thereupon told him that if this design did miscarry none would bear the blame but he and my self, and therefore added that seeing that our own reputations, the Honour of our Nation, and (which was more than all other Considerations) the Glory of God whose Gospel we went to Propagate, did lye at stake, I desir'd that there might be that joint affectionate assistance of each to other in all things as might enable ourselves to discharge our trust, and discourage any that might endeavour to sow Division betwixt us, which would ruin us. He accepted the motion, and we engag'd Solemnly to each other. But how he performed, giving my men no Victuals, or too short in proportion, also in denying to lend me Arms for those that wanted, having spare arms aboard and no use for them, in sending away our Guide, refusing to run the fleet into the Haven, Landing us against Vote and desire so far of the Town, and suffering the Seamen to Traduce me, about which I writ to him, or whether he could have acted more destructive to the design than what he did, let all rational Men judge. But being ready to return for England he writ to me to mind me of our Engagement without which Letter I could not have prov'd our Engagement, or his breach of faith, nor Clear'd my self in several particulars, especially in trusting to his word and promise, which made me not so cautious to prevent his designs upon me, for who could have thought that a man professing Religion, and employ'd about the advancement of the Gospel of Christ, durst have acted so much for its Enemies. He had formerly without the least provocation from me (save my refusal to sign Mr Poole's acquittance and Commission.

[1] See Cromwell's letter to Penn, December 20, 1654, *Portland MSS.* ii. 89.

and also a Letter to his Highness which contain'd my consent to his return) sent me a Letter with a strange Close, which followeth—

'Sir

Several Commanders of the Fleet having at the request of the late Major General and other Land Officers issued out diverse parcels of Cloaths (laid on board by the State for the use of the Seamen), for present supplying the necessities of several and many of the Soldiers in the Cold weather at Coming out of England, I therefore desire you would be pleas'd to appoint some person or persons to receive the Accompt thereof, and take some Course that satisfaction be given to the said Commanders; for otherwise they will assuredly be made at Home to pay for the same out of their own Purses, which will be very hard requital for their readiness to Comply with the said Officers in that exigent. Hoping you will Consider thereof, and let them have no occasion to Complain, I rest, Sir,

WILLIAM PENN.'

Swiftsure 8th June 1655.

But having no return from me unsuitable to our Engagement of Love, he sent me for his farewell another about some business, and the Close of it speaks thus—

'Sir

I hope we shall both bear in mind the mutual Promise made solemnly between us (as in the presence of God) of Love and affection to be Conserved inviolably between us, and how that if any sower of sedition should endeavour to dissolve so sacred a Tie, to discover such Persons and projects either to other. I for my part have and do firmly adhere to the same, and hope you are like minded. If you have any Commands to lay upon me now homeward bound you shall find them with all faithfulness effected, and that I shall in all things study to be

Sir, Your true Friend and Servant

WILLIAM PENN.'

I purposely omit the matter of business, the Letter being very long, and my answer declares what the matters were. My Letter followeth—

To General Penn.

'I received yours this Instant, being scarce able to hold a Penn, and weaker than ever. The Merchants debt I desire may be discharged on the Committee of the Navy; here are Prize Ships enough to reimburse them, but for anything I can see if we Exhaust the Land Treasury, the Army may starve before Supplies come. and if the Money be above our Sum its considerable,[1] and our Commissioners at Barbadoes went beyond their Commissions and Instructions to Charge Money on us who are so low. And if you please to draw an order to satisfie them in England I do hereby engage to join with you in it. For Hides we have few, except such as are Sold or wet, and they refuse to take them at the same rates as other Merchants give. The reason I sign'd not the Bills of Sale of Prize Ships was this: I know your order is sufficient without my hand, and I must sign with an implicite faith, not knowing neither their worth, nor Appraisement, and ignorant of all the rates prescribed in the particular, and some of those I desir'd might not be Sold, but left to carry on the Service. Sir, If you would be pleased to send any to receive the Cattle, you should be fitted hence, or if the Ropes sent hence to lead such we did send were return'd, we should serve you to our power, but neither being done, tho' both desir'd, we are incapacitated to do it. The abuse offer'd your Men I gave order to have it Examined, and being found, punished. I desire your help in it. Sir, my strength is spent, yet one word I cannot omit. I have a little more of a Gentleman in me than to break any promise or engagement of Peace and love, having never been of a Contentious Spirit, and will be found as true of my word as any person in the World shall be unto him who is

Sir. Your Real Friend and Servant

June 21st, 1655. ROBERT VENABLES.'

[1] 'Inconsiderable.' Lee-Townshend MS.

'Sir,

Since the Closing of my Letter there Came a Seaman, who, as Capt. Bingham and others aver, said that he was sent to overtake the Paquet to which this is an answer, and that it was a false and mistaken thing; which expression questioning him about, he Confesseth he was sent to stay it, and doth not much deny that other, which had rais'd some thought in my mind, not being able to conceive the reason.'

But notwithstanding all my refusals to join in the Sale of Ships or discharging of Debts with the Land Mens money only,[1] when there were Prizes sufficient to defray all, Yet he and Capt. Butler sold some Vessels that were very good Sailers, good Vessels and very fit for the Service of those parts, and some of them to Officers in the Fleet, who laded them and sent them to Virginia,[2] whither himself also fraught the Katherine (which by his Highness order with all her Ordnance, Sails, and tackling, was given him, being a Vessel of about Five Hundred Tuns and thirty Pieces of Ordnance).[3] And here I should question whether the freights of these Ships was had, for betwixt England and Barbadoes we touch'd at no place (and tho' I enquir'd diligently) I could never learn that he nor his Officers that freighted those Ships bought one Tun of Sugar at Barbadoes, or any other Commodities at Hispaniola, not a Hide. And at Jamaica all the Hides we could get were Sold to buy Sack and Brandy for the Army. So that I am at a stand to find out where they could possibly be got, and therefore leave every one to their own Conjecture.

But before the Fleet departed for England I urg'd for Brandy; it was answer'd there was none for us. I was told in England there was above a hundred, I think Two hundred Tuns of Brandy aboard the Fleet for Sea and Land Men; we took, as I was assur'd from General Penn and his Cousin Pool, above thirty Tuns more at

[1] Compare *Portland MSS.* ii. 96.

[2] Three ships were also despatched to New England for provisions, *ib.* ii. 94.

[3] *Memorials of Sir W. Penn*, ii. 30.

Barbadoes, but I do not know that the Army ever had Ten Tuns whilst I was in the Indies.

Whilst the Commissioners and my self were transacting these matters, some in the Army were not Idle, taking advantage of my distemper which encreased daily, so that Coll. Buller call'd a Council of Warr of his own Officers to debate what was fit for the Army to do, and no body (lest they should add to my distemper) would tell me of these disorders, which were not at the first incurable. But Capt. Butler, a Commissioner, falling in with them upon this account, Mr. Winslow informed General Penn and me how he was got drunk at Barbadoes, and ran shouting thro' the Town. Whereupon we sent him with some other Officers as Commissioner to St. Christophers to dispatch business there, lest his stay at Barbadoes should disgrace us; but there in a Treaty with the French he was so overcome with drink that he fell from his horse and Vomited, before the French and most of the English Gentlemen, that the French jeer'd at his Highness Commissioners.[1] These things he practising at Jamaica and neglecting his Highness' affairs, I told him of it, and desir'd him to reform; but he being disgusted hereat associated himself with all discontented Persons, and made it his Business to rail upon and revile me, as Mr. Wentworths Letter which followeth will testifie—

'May it please your honour,

Yours of the Sixteenth Instant I have receiv'd, and after interlocution with Lieutenant Newton was well informed of the sudden departure of this Conveniency, which out of a tender respect I have to the Vindication of your honour, and that duty which I owe to Christian profession, I desire to make use of it. These therefore may inform all whom it may concern, that on Thursday before we Came with the Marston Moore from Jamaica, I went on shore with

[1] For Butler's own account of his proceedings at St. Christophers, see Thurloe iii. 754. Fortescue terms him 'the unfittest man for a commissioner I ever knew employed.' *Ib.* iii. 650.

Capt. Butler, who was Commissioner for the Fleet, and saw such miscarriages by him as I never saw before, and which were not befitting a Gentleman, which I suppose was thro' excess of drink, and that several of his near retinue were extreamly discontented with the aforesaid, and that he with them were mutually fomenting expressions of discontent. I wish my Person or Testimony may in point of equity serve you: in the mean while these Lines are attested by

Sir, Your Honours humble Servant
JOHN WENTWORTH.'

Portsmo. Oct: 20th 1655.

This carriage of his towards me gave such incouragement to some Officers, such as knew themselves so guilty of misdemeanors that if I liv'd they must think to suffer, that finding it the only way to their own security to lay all upon me, who was not likely to live to excuse my self to have proceeded on for the time to come. Coll. Buller, being the principal leading Man, and all his Officers with him came to desire me to take notice of a Vote of a Council of War, when I being gone to the Fleet to the Commissioners, who would not come to me (Capt. Butler residing there Constantly, as though all his business and Employment had been only for the Navy and not for the Army). I told you before how I had ordered the Officers to sit Constantly to order the quartering of the Army, and to put them into Plantations, whilst I went to the Fleet. But Buller in my absence forc'd the Commissioners to fall about what he and his Officers had before Consulted about.

So that at my return nothing was done. But Buller came to desire me to call a Councill to consult about sending into England now the Fleet was ready to depart. I replyd, I had Writ already and represented our Condition. He desir'd me however to Consult the Officers; he had prepar'd all to his own mind, and I knew nothing of all this. Some of his Associates seconded him;

I Consented, and when they were met, I, not being able to stay with them, told them I must leave the Matter and them together, being not able to stay. I being gone Buller propounded that an Agent might be sent to England, for tho' I had writ, yet Letters were but dead things without one to Solicite, hoping he had provided himself should be the Man. One of the Officers said a person without Interest and unacquainted with the passages of Affairs was as dead as Letters,[1] and that none was so interessed in the Affairs of the Army as the General (who was disabled by sickness), and was a person of more Interest at Court than any man they could send. Replies past and in the Conclusion they pass'd the following Votes, which they presented to me for my Assent.

'At a Council of War held at St. Iago De La Vega, the 7th June 1655.[2]

Present,

Major Gen[l]. Fortescue,

Coll. Buller, Coll. Carter,
Coll. Doyly, Coll. Holdipe,

Quarter Master Gen[l]. Rudyard,
Adjutant General Birkenhead,
Lieutenant Coll. Barry,
Major Smith.

Resolv'd,—That whosoever goes for England to represent the Condition of the Army, and shall [not] return again within a twelve month after his departure, shall be uncapable of Receiving benefit by any Plantation being his proportion as a Member of the Army.

Resolv'd, That we are willing, that if the General please to take the trouble upon him of going into England to represent the Condition of the Army and this Island, to procure such relief and Supplies as shall be needful for the carrying on the design. That he dispose himself for the Voyage as soon as he shall think Convenient.

[1] 'as a dead letter,' Povey. [2] Printed in Thurloe's *State Papers*, iii. 523.

Resolv'd, That some one Officer of the Army be desir'd to go to attend the General into England, and that the Officer agreed upon be Coll. Buller.

We whose names are underwritten, being Field Officers of the Army (tho' not present at the Council of War before mentioned) do freely consent to, and approve of the Votes and resolutions of the said Council, as they are before Expressed.

PHIL WARD. HENRY BARTLETT. WM. SMITH.
MICHAEL BLAND. WILLM. JORDAN.'

'*Jamaica* 18*th July* 1655.—Several Considerations to be humbly represented to his Highness the Lord Protector and Council in behalf of the Army in America.[1]

As we do with all thankfulness acknowledge his Highness care in ordering Considerable Supplies and Accommodations for the Army, tho' it pleas'd God thro' his providence to retard them, So for the future it is humbly desir'd and hop'd, that his Highness will be pleased from time to time to order, upon the terms formerly agreed on, Accommodations for Cloathing for Officers and Soldiers, and all manner of working Tools and Instruments better than those now receiv'd, for the Wood generally is so hard and Tools[2] edges so bad as they are scarce serviceable ; as also Bread, Oatmeal, Brandy &c. Arms, Ammunition, Plank,[3] & Medicines &c.

That servants from Scotland or elsewhere may be sent to assist in Planting, for which the Officers out of their Pay will make such allowance as his Highness shall think fit, and Assign them such proportions of Land as his Highness shall direct, at the Expiration of their respective Terms. By this means we shall be able to make provisions for such as are already here, and such as shall be sent hither by his Highness for further service, and they will be in

[1] Printed in Thurloe's *State Papers*, iii. 661.
[2] 'Edge tools,' Thurloe. [3] 'Physick,' Thurloe.

readiness for such other employments as his Highness shall Command.

That the Allotment and distribution of Land to the respective Regiments of the Army already approv'd of by his Highness Commissioners may be ratified by his Highness sanction. The allotment made to the Christophers Regiment (which is to be reduc'd) excepted.

That such incouragement as his Highness shall think fit, may be given and granted to such as shall desire to come from England, or any other English Colonies.

That in regard it may happen, as by Experience it hath done, that the Supplies order'd and intended by his Highness may not seasonably arrive, by reason of Contrary Winds, by reason whereof the Army may be distressed and reduc'd to exigencies, That his Highness will be pleas'd to enable the Army to take up necessary Provisions for our Accommodation of such Merchant Ship or Ships as shall come into the Harbours of this Island, and to draw Bills of Payment on such Treasury in England as his Highness shall think fit, the same not exceeding Ten Thousand Pounds.

That for the better ordering and regulating this commonwealth, and Encouragement of such as desire to live under a Civil and setled Government, his Highness will be pleased to send such Constitutions and Laws as his Highness shall think fit for the Government of this place, or impower such in the place as his Highness shall approve of to make and Constitute from time to time such wholesome and necessary Laws, as shall be most fit for the ordering and Government of things here; and to erect a Court and Courts of justice and Equity for deciding Controversies between Party and Party, and power granted to allow such Officers as shall be employ'd such Sallary as shall be judged needful.

That in regard much inconvenience hath been found by the distinct and Independant Command of the Army and fleet, his Highness would be pleas'd to order that both may be under one Command, and that power may be given to erect Courts of

Admiralty, and Grant Commissions to private Men of War to annoy and infest the Enemies of our Nation.

That his Highness would please to allow that such Merchant or Merchants, as shall be willing to advance the Service and Plantation of this Island, may have all due encouragement; and that such Person or Persons as his Highness shall please to authorize and Appoint here, may be enabled to treat or Contract with him or them accordingly.

That forasmuch as the Officers have found by sad Experience, that the Generality of the Private Soldiers of this Army are Men of low Spirits, apt to receive impressions of fear, and basely to desert their Officers and Service, his Highness be humbly desir'd for the more effectual carrying on the War in these parts, to order a Considerable supply of well disciplin'd, approv'd, and Experienc'd Soldiers, such as have been accustom'd to hardship in Ireland or elsewhere, Well accommodated with Provisions, Leather Bottles, Tents &c.

> Richard Holdipe. John Read. William Jordan. Edward Doyly. Henry Archbold. Henry Bartlett. Robert Smith. Philip Ward. Michael Bland. William Smith. Richard Fortescue. Samuel Barry. Andrew Carter. Vincent Corbett. Francis Barrington.'

These preceeding proposals were also given me from the Army to present to his Highness in order to the better setling of Affairs, and preventing for the future what had formerly been the prejudice of the Army. Both these were delivered to me to present to his Highness in England, but I made not any haste to go, intending to settle things fully there, but my flux encreasing so exceedingly that about three Weeks after I sent to General Penn and Capt. Butler to let them know I now despair'd of Life, desiring them to come that we might break open his Highness last and Close Commission, which was thus Indors'd, 'Not to be open'd but in Case of the death, disability, or absence of one, or both the

Generals.' (I had for about a fortnight before left the Command of the Army to Major General Fortescue and was now Confin'd to my bed.) They delay'd two days, though I sent several Messengers. At last I caus'd it to be open'd before the Officers, and according to its Contents nominated Major General Fortescue, and resigned my Command to him, sign'd his Commission, and General Penn joyn'd in it.[1] Capt Butler came into my Chamber just as I had resign'd my Command, and Spake to the Officers to acknowledge Major General as their Commander in Chief. Butler finding Symptoms of Death upon me, he and Buller smil'd upon each other (which I observ'd with some trouble of mind,) but he [2] refus'd to joyn with me to appoint a General in my place, according as the Commission requir'd. The Words of the Commission ran thus. 'We do impower you (naming the Commissioners), or any two, or one of you, the rest being Dead or absent, that in Case General Venables die, be disabled, or absent, that then you, or any two or more of you as aforesaid, do Choose and appoint some other Person whom you judge most fit to succeed in his place to carry on the Service there &c.' [3] Vice Admiral Goodson was appointed by the Commission in General Penn's place upon the same grounds and Occasion. Within two days after I fell into a Calenture, and now I cannot relate any thing to my own knowledge, but I find by Circumstances, as well as others relation, that I continued in this distraction about one Month, and was then in that condition carried on board, the Physicians advising it, in regard that no means they could use did prove effectual to help me, and my flux having stopt at Sea whilst we came between Hispaniola and Jamaica, they hop'd it might stay again; however it was but an adventure, no hurt could follow

[1] On the opening of this Commission see Thurloe, iii. 674–5. It was opened by Mr. Long, Secretary to the Commissioners.

[2] *I.e.* Butler.

[3] Both the commissions to Fortescue and Goodson, dated one June 24, the second June 25, are printed in Thurloe, iii. 581–2.

to try, for at Land I could not live,[1] and at Sea perhaps I might recover, and if not, it was not material whether Worms or Fish eat that poor and almost consumed remainder of me. Upon this, I was carried on board. July 1655, and there kept nine or ten days, expecting I would certainly die, at last we put to Sea, where others that went pretty well on board died within a few days, And I the first night slept soundly, neither the jactation of the Sea, nor the Noise of the Men disturb'd me, So that within a Week I recovered my Senses again.[2]

But before I take leave of Jamaica I cannot but with trouble of Spirit remember the sad Condition of the Army, being infected with diseases. swept away by Forty, Fifty, Sixty, Yea, some Weeks a hundred, by fevers, fluxes caus'd by their want of Food or unwholsome diet, necessity causing them rather to choose unsound or unhealthful food than none at all, the Seamen not delivering bread and brandy, the chief preservers against fluxes in these parts, delaying our Supplies tho' daily urg'd by us, sometimes pretending one thing then another; tho' this was spoken of before, yet being now more than ever neglected, I cannot but speak of it again, and desire the Reader to look back into Capt. Howes and M^r^ Daniels Letters writ from hence, and upon the occasion of the Army necessities. M^r^ Daniel being our Commissary receiv'd the Provisions from the Seamen, and therefore best able to speak of their demeanors; and what he writ he complain'd of to me before their faces, justifying the baseness and rottenness of the bisket, and their denying to weigh it, but requiring acquittances from him and Captain Bamford for what quantity they pleas'd to name, or else refusing to deliver any at all.

The Officers and Soldiers press'd to have their trunks on shore, but were not permitted to go on board for them, and some of

[1] Compare Whistler's Journal, under June 21. The fleet sailed June 25. *Memorials of Sir William Penn*, ii. 126.

[2] See the two Letters of Venables in Thurloe, iv. 22, 23.

them Complain'd that the Seamen had carried their necessaries back into England when they return'd with General Penn; wherefore Major Gen[l] Fortescue writ to me several times when I had occasion to go to the Commissioners about business, they keeping on board and refusing to come to me to dispatch business; so that how weak so ever or unfit for business or travel I were, yet I must go to them (that were in health), or all must sink or swim for any Care that they took.

His letters follow—

'May it please your Excellency,

The Army are in great want of Provisions, as also of Match and Gun Powder, and that if you please to order a sudden March its necessary the Soldiers be supply'd with Bisket, at least such of them as shall be drawn forth for any Service. I desire your Excellency will please to inform General Penn of the general Complaint of Officers and Soldiers of the Seamens refusal to carry them on board to fetch their Goods. If he would please to appoint any certain day when Officers and Soldiers should come to receive their Goods, and that Boats may attend that business, and so make but one trouble of it. We want our Hoes and Mattocks &c.

Your most humble Servant
RICHARD FORTESCUE.'

May 29th 1655.

'According to your order I sent Four Hundred Men Commanded by Major Bamford with Sixty Horse to fetch up the Provisions and Ammunition, which General Penn promis'd should be Landed early this morning, whereby we might have been enabled to march according to your order towards the Enemy, who still remain refractory, as appears by the enclos'd. But Contrary to expectation one of my Officers return'd and came from the Sea side, and assures me there was no Provisions landed when he came away. Sir, The Soldiers have not had any Provisions almost forty-eight

hours but one bisket a Man since they came hither, by reason whereof they grow very weak and are much enfeebled. I have enquir'd concerning the ways and passages leading to the place where the Enemy are encamped, which is from hence eight Leagues, and I am assured that there is but one way, and none other nigh it; much of it is through Savannas, part through a Mountain, Water some part at the end of two Leagues, some part half a league.

According to the enclos'd relation etc.'

May 1655.

'Upon receipt of your letter I summoned the Field Officers and with their advice drew out two Parties, one of a Thousand Four hundred to march by Land, and another of Six hundred to be transported by Sea, and have appointed Officers to Command them; but when I sent Commissary Daniel to take an Account of the Provisions sent last night by the Party, being thirty bags of Cassavy, he Certifieth under his hand, and will aver before you, that the whole weight is not two thousand Pounds, as appeareth by the enclosed particular, which is judg'd too small a proportion, not only for the Army, but the Party Commanded out. I have therefore sent Mr Daniel with the advice of the Officers to inform you of our Condition, and that we conceive there was a great mistake in those that sent the Provisions on shore, who alledged there was Six Thousand weight, and demanded a Receipt accordingly, but Major Bamford refus'd to give them a Receipt for so much weight, because all the Baggs were broken, and much of the Bread embezled. The truth is the Army generally are in a very weak condition for want of provisions. The Party I sent down yesterday to the Sea side could have brought treble the quantity that was sent. If we might know how much should be landed, we would send parties accordingly. I do with the Officers advice represent the Armys condition to you. We want medicines for the Chyrugeons.'

May 1655.

Here followeth the Testimony of Lieu[t] Coll. Ward. He affirms that being on board the Matthias on Saturday the Eighth of June 1655, enquiring of Capt. Kirby, Commander of the said Vessel, concerning some Copper belonging to the Army in the said Vessel, the said Capt. Kirby said that he Receiv'd a Check of General Penn for revealing what Stores he had in his Ship, with this saying, You can have no Stores on board you, but you must be babling.

PHILL. WARD.

Memorandum There was in the Ships Cabin when this was spoken Capt. Pegg, Lieutenant Coll. Bushel sick in bed, Mr. Garvenor, and Commissary Pain.

So that all may see how the promisses of Gen[l] Desbrow were made good to us, who assur'd us that what was on board should be for the Land Men as well as the Seamen, and also what Civilities we might expect from the Seamen to afford us relief out of their own Stores, who conceal'd and with held our own from us.

Their wants and sufferings I suppose were the Cause which mov'd the Officers to desire my return for England to represent them to his Highness, but I was never permitted to speak; only M[r] Secretary Thurloe writ to me (when in the Tower) to send to him the Officers humble Considerations, which were directed to his Highness, which I did but never heard more.[1]

And now being on board I shall take leave of Jamaica, set sail for England to discharge my trust to the state and Army, in representing the Condition of those parts, and what might most advance the Service, and which way was most probable the design to be carried on, which I did in the Tower. I had a most comfortable and sweet passage homeward, and when I came Northward gather'd strength exceedingly (my weakness considered). We landed safely at Plymouth, September the tenth 1655, having not felt one Storm, but that was to follow at Land. So soon as I came to Portsmouth I writ to his Highness as followeth[2]—

[1] But see *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1655, p. 365. [2] Thurloe, iv. 21.

'May it please your Highness

I doubt not but General Penn hath inform'd your Highness of the weak Condition he left me in, out of which all that saw me judg'd it was impossible for me ever to recover. Even the Physicians despair'd, except Change of Air did [help me], tho' it was doubted I could not live to be put on board; yet being death was certain if I stay'd, it was resolv'd to adventure me, in regard I could but die.

The extream wants of your forces in the Indies were also recommended to me to represent (by the Officers) to your Highness; but being my great weakness disabled me to travel by Land, I am at present incapacitated to discharge that trust, unless it shall please the Lord to give more strength, or bring me about by Sea. And in the interim that your Highness may be blessed with prosperous success in all your pious [and honourable] designs, and be Temporally and eternally happy, is and shall be the Prayer of,

Your Highness most humble and faithful Servant

R. VENABLES.'

[Aboard the Marston Moore in Portsmouth roade, Sept. the 9th, 1655.]

To Mr. Secretary Thurloe

'Honored Sir,

I do perswade myself that you have had a report by General Penns Fleet of my death, which was most probable, my returning being despair'd of by all men, even the Physicians, and Change of Air as the last of remedies (all others failing), tho' it was thought per most I should never see the Sea; Yet being I could but die, it was resolv'd to adventure me, tho' I was a meer Skelleton, and had by times been in a raving condition about three Weeks, and Continued so about a Week after I came on Ship board. and yet Continue but Skin and bones, and so weak that I cannot ride or

[1] Thurloe, iv. 22.

scarce sit, except very easy; and therefore not able to travel by Land, but must Come about up Thames, though my heart longs to inform his Highness of the State of his Affairs in the West Indies; and indeed haste is extreamly necessary. If the Lord bring me alive to London, I shall fully inform you of all, which I dare not Commit to paper, being Constrain'd to make use of another's hand; for which your pardon is earnestly desir'd by

Your very humble Servant,

ROBERT VENABLES.' [1]

[Aboard the Marston Moore near St. Ellens point, this 9th of Sept. 1655.]

To the Lord Lambert

'My Lord,

My death being reported by most, and the impossibility of my recovery believed by all General Penns Fleet, I perswade myself hath by them come to your ears, so that you would rather suppose the certain news of my death had now been brought you, than that I am in the Land of the living and so near you. And indeed all men, yea the very Physicians despair'd of my Life, the Air being so much my Enemy; and therefore it was resolv'd I should go to Sea, tho' most (and those not the least judicious) thought I should never come on board alive, yet being I could but die, it was resolv'd to adventure me, tho' I was but a meer Skelleton, and had per times been in a raving Condition about three Weeks, and Continued so a Week after I came on Ship board, and yet Continue but Skin and bone, so weak that I cannot ride or scarce sit, except very easy, and therefore not able to travel by Land to London, but must come about up Thames, though my heart longs to inform his Highness of the State of his Affairs in the West, but indeed haste is extreamly necessary. If the Lord bring me alive to London, I shall fully inform

[1] A postscript is added in the version in Thurloe, iii. 22: 'If the Lord grant me the mercy to see your face, I shall acquaint you with all the extreme wants and difficultyes I have struggled with, as alsoe such mutinous and discontented spiritts as have acted to the great prejudice of his Highness, and if not redressed will (hazard at least) ruine the whole aime and designe.'

you of all which I dare not commit to paper, being constrain'd to make use of anothers hand, for which your pardon is earnestly desir'd by,

My Lord, Your Lordships most humble Servant
R. VENABLES.'

The like was writ to Coll. Sidenham and General Desbrow.[1] But tho' I press'd earnestly to come to London by Sea, yet was denied, being so weak that I had like to have died on board before I came to Land; however being Commanded to come away, I got a Coach, and one to support me in it, and so came to London, and the same day went to Secretary Thurloe to acquaint him that I desir'd to wait on his Highness; he appointed me to attend the next morning to that end; which I did,[2] and was at last call'd in before his Highness and the Councill, who demanded of me who sent for me? I answered, the Army had desir'd me to come to represent to his Highness the state of his affairs there, and their extream wants. He then demanded of me, if I had ever read of any General that had left his Army, and not Commanded back? I reply'd, I supposed History would clear it, tho' my memory discompos'd by sickness could not at present call it to mind, and at last named the Earl of Essex. He reply'd, a sad example, and ask'd me if I had anything else to say in my defence? I reply'd. I did not expect to be call'd to an Account for this thing, and was not prepar'd to answer; and humbly Crav'd respite for a few days that I might peruse my Papers, and Consider the thing fully, and I would then give him a full Answer. He denied me that most just liberty, which a Heathen denied not to Paul, to have time and place to defend himself. I humbly beg'd it again, and was denied, and this added, that I must then speak, or what I had spoke would be looked upon as all I could say. I then reply'd. I had the Army's Vote, which I then produc'd, and desir'd it might be

[1] A letter to Penn of the same date is printed in Portland MSS. ii. 97.
[2] Sept 20, 1655. *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1655, p. 343.

read, but was denied, and I was told Coll. Buller was the Armys Agent. I reply'd, I humbly Conceiv'd my self was the Man, and he only my assistant; and again press'd to have the Votes read to justifie my allegation, but was denied, and urg'd for my further Answer. I said I was wasted with sickness, so that I was incapacitated to counsel my self, much less able to Command or direct the Army; and that I stay'd above a month after those Votes before I came away, to see if I should recover so as to be able to discharge the duty of my place, but grew daily worse till I was at last depriv'd of senses, and knew not what I did or spoke, and in that Condition (by the Physicians advice) I was carried on Ship board to try if the sea would (as it had formerly) stop my Flux, for if I stay'd at Land I was a dead Man and it was but the trial of one Experiment, Whether the Fish or Worms must eat me. Besides, I added, his Highness Commission, which was endors'd thus: 'not to be open'd except in case of the Death, disability, or absence, of one or both the Generals', the which words also running thro' the body of the Commission in such causes to impower the Commissioners to choose a new General, which Commission was executed accordingly, and Major General Fortescue chose into my place a Month or near thereabouts before I came away, and Executed the same accordingly. I added I had much more to say, but except I had time (which I again earnestly beg'd, but was denied) I could not at present add any more; however I craved my weakness of memory might not be made my crime.

I was commanded forth. and presently Mr. Scobell sent to me for the Officers Votes, which I desir'd him to give me a Copy of, but he did not, but I had a Copy before. I waited; at last the Council rose. I met with Coll. Sidenham, who told me he was sorry for me, and that the hand of God should be the cause of my suffering, for he said my sentence was severe. I spoke also to the Lord President Laurence to know his Command, not being in a Capacity to attend; he told me the Clerk would acquaint me with

their order, and that I must stay, which I did ; and the Serjeant at last came to me and acquainted me with the Councils order, with a very Civil Apology for his Acting. I mov'd that he would give me leave (being fasting and very weak) to go home, or at least to some cooks-shop for some refreshment, and time to send for some necessaries to carry with me to the Tower. All which with much compassion and respect he granted, so that I return'd home with his Servant, assuring him that if he would trust me I would that night present myself with the Councils Warrant to the Lieutenant of the Tower; for I was not able to go, much less fly, and that I was not conscious to my self of any guilt, and scorned to bring my Innocencie and former Service so much [into question] as to blemish my self with a thought to escape or fly. When I came home some Friends came to visit me, who offer'd their services to Assist me in any thing they could. Whereupon I writ to the Lord President Laurence, and drew up a Petition which my Wife and friends presented, both which follow—

'My Lord.

After your Lordship was pleas'd to tell me that the Clerk of the Council would acquaint me with your resolves, I found Mr. Serjeant Dendy to be the Man that brought it, and a very sad one, which afflicts me more than (I perswade myself) the news of Death, being that my most dear reputation, Purchas'd with the Loss of my Blood and Limbs, and thirteen Years faithful and not unsuccessful Service, and all call'd into question by this blow. I perceive my Plea of his Highness additional Instructions for the Choosing a Commander in Chief, (in Case of the death, disability, or absence, of either of those then in Commission,) is wholly wav'd, it presupposing all these, which must needs induce me believe my Coming away was no such Capital Offence.

Your Lordships Piety and Confidence of your favour herein hath emboldened me to move your Lordship to present the Enclos'd

Petition to his Highness, if your Lordship judge it meet, which is submitted to your Lordships pleasure by

My Lord your most humble and afflicted Servant,

R. VENABLES.'

The 3 Queens in
James Street, 7br. 20th, 1655.

To his Highness the Lord Protector of England Scotland and Ireland, September 20th, 1655

'Sheweth,

That upon signification of your Highness displeasure in his Commitment to the Tower, he humbly by Petition made his Address to your Highness that a Confinement to his Chamber might at present be only inflicted, in regard of his great weakness, and many pressing Occasions; but that (as he humbly Conceives) not Coming in season to your Highness, he again humbly imploreth your Highness favourable Consideration of his afflicted Condition, and his great weakness yet Continuing; and since that time some further fear of its encrease arising, he is necessitated most humbly to implore your Highness so far to Commiserate his sad Condition, as to grant him so much enlargement as may afford the benefit of air and Physick for his recovery; and that he also may have opportunity to represent to your Highness the Series of his management of that trust your Highness did Commit to him. Wherein if he be not able to evidence he hath been faithful, tho' Providence denied Success, he shall (with much more quietness of heart) undergo any further mark of your Highness displeasure. And your Highness favour herein shall engage your Petitioner ever to Pray.

R. VENABLES.'

I desir'd that I might be only Confin'd to my Chamber, in regard of my extream weakness, that so I might use the help of Physick for my recovery, and offer'd Ten Thousand Pounds Bond, and Persons to be Security with me, who would also be bound

body for body, that they would (if I recover'd) bring me in to answer any Charge that should be brought against me when ever call'd to; but all was refus'd, so that I was that night, being the [20th] of September 1655. Carried to the Tower and deliver'd Prisoner to the Lieutenant of the Tower, Coll. Barkstead, since knighted by his Highness, and the Warrant for my Commitment which here followeth—

'Oliver P^r^.

Whereas General Robert Venables, being General of the English forces sent into America, hath without Licence deserted the Army Committed to his Charge, contrary to his Trust, These are therefore to will and require you to receive and take into your Custody in our Tower of London the body of the said General Robert Venables, herewith sent unto you, and him to keep in safe Custody until you shall receive order from us to the Contrary; hereof you are not to fail as you will answer the Contrary, and this shall be your Warrant in that behalf. Given at Whitehall this Twentieth of September 1655.

To John Barkstead Esq.
Lieutenant of our Tower of London.'

I had not Continued many days in the Tower but several Friends came to Visit me; some perswading me to submit myself to his Highness, for if I came to a trial I would be Sentenc'd, but I still desir'd a hearing; some others told me, that some Godly Men were told that it would not be well taken if they went to Visit me, for that the visits of Godly Men did make me Stubborn, and kept me from Submission, and thus it was sought to set Godly Men against me as my Enemies, and to deprive me of the Comfort of their Company, Counsel, and Prayers. My friends were not Idle, but mov'd for enlargement for Air in order to Physick and Health; and at last the Lady Melton (to whom General Lambert was ever respective) had this return from him, that she must perswade me to submit, and I should be enlarg'd. She sent me word

of it, as also of her answer, which was, That so the next day I must be cried about the Streets. If they had any fault to charge me with she desir'd them to proceed against me, or to set me at liberty if Innocent. Presently after the Lord Fleetwood, Lord Deputy of Ireland, was pleas'd to honour me with his Person; to whom after other discourse, I said I look'd upon my self as a Prisoner for form only, and not for Offence, it being fit that a private person should rather bear the blemish of any miscarriage than the Publick; and that I was content so to do, but desir'd him not to let me be too much a sufferer, for before I would die like a Dog I would speak like a Man. He desir'd me to give him an Account of the State of those parts for his own private satisfaction, and that he would not impart them to any other, which I did. He promis'd me to his utmost friendship, which did much satisfie me that there was not anything of concernment or moment Charg'd against me, otherways I suppos'd he would not have made me so large a Promise.

About the tenth of October, 1655, Mr. Eaton, Pastor of the Church of Stockport,[1] came to see me, and within a few days brought me a message from my Lord Fleetwood, which was that he desir'd me to send him Answers to Six Queries for his own private satisfaction. The several Queries with my Answers here follow.

'My Lord

Mr. Eaton to[ld] me you desir'd satisfaction to some particulars; he mention'd them, to which I beseech you receive the Answers.

1st Was a Contention betwixt General Penn and me about place?

Truly I know not that ever we strove save to give precedency each to other, tho' usually he had it at Sea, and I at Land; only Mr. Winslow told me at Barbadoes, that General Penn, having seen the Commission and Instructions at Portsmouth (which I did not), he excepted against my being named first, upon which (all being

[1] Samuel Eaton, d. 1665. A life of Eaton is given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

still unknown to me) he was named first in the Instructions. and I in the Commission, which the rayzures (as Mr. Winslow bad me observe) caus'd me to believe.

2nd That I took too much State upon me at Barbadoes.

My Lord, I confess that I remember not anything of that Nature, neither doth my heart accuse me of any Act, (I confesse the Sin in my heart is a burthen if something else restrain'd not) but conceive the ground of this report, (and have heard it) arises from the Governor of Barbadoes his Marshall going before him and me bare headed to Church; which I could not avoid, lodging at his House. and it hath been and yet is the practice of that Island, that whether the Governor goeth or rideth his Marshall goeth with him and bare headed. And I think twice my Marshall without order from me went in that Posture before us to Church, but if any can prove that my Marshall did ever ride or go with me at all, much less bare headed as the others did, I confess the fault.

3rd That factions in the Army were occasioned by the Conduct.

I answer that before I went I confess'd my unfitness for such a Command, and do believe that true, yet I can prove that fell out thus. That Major General Heynes expected the Command in Chief, and went out of England in that Confidence that I would not come, and before we left Barbadoes I had many strong presumptions that he hop'd to gain the same.

4th As for our long stay at Barbadoes.

I answer that a person of Honour Charg'd it as a fault upon me that I left that place before our stores came; and indeed my Lord all the Officers grug'd at it, neither did we stay longer than to provide necessaries for the Fleet and Army, which were exceedingly retarded by some of the Inhabitants.

5th Landing too much to the Leeward.

My Lord, my self and Officers did Vote for the River Hine, except beaten off, and General Penns Instructions were that he should transport us from place to place as the Service did require, and the Guide did bring us Westward of the River. I am no Sea-

man and profess'd my trouble at the thing, as I can prove. neither knew I any port or part of that Coast. When I went to General Penn I knew nothing but that our Guide (as he told me) was aboard the Vice Admiral to bring us to the River, till I was told we were past it.

6th Marching about when Major General Heynes advised a nearer way.

My Lord, we had not one man amongst us that knew one foot of the way from our Landing place to the River Hine, and therefore no man can say we went out of our way there; and when we came to the River there was a foord which we search'd for, but ound none. Coll. Buller (who was ordered by General Penn to stay at the foord for us) march'd against order away, and carried the Guide with him, which put us Ten or twelve miles out of the way about. But Major General Heynes and Capt. Butler were earnest, notwithstanding our men were long fasting, to march to seek Buller, lest he might be cut off, which we did and no man knows but we went the nearest way, and I believe there was no other.

My Lord,

I have briefly given your Excellency an account, according as the shortness of the time did suggest things to my thoughts, but I have some thing to add when I have with more deliberation considered the particulars, and therefore humbly desire that this may not be taken as the utmost can be pleaded by, My Lord

Your Excellencys very humble and Obliged Servant

R. Venables.'

Tower, Oct. 26, 1655.

I could have spoken more fully and more particularly all particulars, but I conceiv'd this general Answer most rational, and therefore reserv'd for a trial, if call'd to it. After this Mr Eaton came to me again, and desir'd me to draw a petition and he would present it to his Highness, and my Lord Fleetwood did promise to assist him in it. Whereupon I drew the following Petition.

Oct. 23rd 1655. To his Highness the Lord Protector of England Scotland and Ireland.

The Humble Petition of Robert Venables.

'Sheweth,

That upon the signification of your Highness displeasure in his Commitment to the Tower he made his humble address by Petition to your Highness that a confinement to his Chamber might only have been inflicted for some time, in regard of his present weakness, and many occasions which much press'd him; but that not being delivered, as he humbly conceives, until after his Commitment, he now most humbly imploreth that your Highness Clemency may so far Commiserate his sad affliction, as to grant him so much of enlargement from his imprisonment that he may be enabled to make use of some means for his Health, and may have an Opportunity to lay before your Highness the whole Services of his behaviour in the business he hath been so unhappy in; wherein if he be not able to manifest he hath behav'd himself faithfully, tho' accompanied with Cross providences, he is ready to abide with much more satisfaction any further or other mark of your displeasure, and your Highness favour herein shall Oblige Your Petitioner ever to pray

ROBERT VENABLES.'

Some few days after Mr. Eaton return'd to me, and told me his Highness was in great rage upon the reading of it. and cast it away, saying I would cast the blame of all upon him. After this Mr. Eaton came to me and told me there were some further exceptions against me, to which I gave him my Answers which here follow:—

Objec. 1st. A proclamation against Pillage.

Ans. I did nothing in that but what was the Commissioners order, which by my Instructions I was bound to observe and therefore, though against my judgment (which is before cleared), yet was constrain'd to do it, lest the neglect should be Charg'd upon me.

2nd. Our landing to the Westward.

Ans. I was no Seaman, and knew not any Port, and must land where the Seamen would bring me. Myself and Officers voted the River Hine, from which place, unless beat off, we resolv'd not to go, as the Votes yet extant will declare, but our Guide brought us elsewhere, which was not my fault, that part of the service belonging to the Seamen over whom I had no command.

3rd. Our retreat the first time after the enemy was beaten.

Ans. 1st. Our Men at that instant were fasting forty eight hours, and both Men and Horses died of Thirst.

2d. They wanted Ammunition.

3d. Our Guide was slain in the fight.

4th. It was dark we could not see a place to assault.

5th. If we could we had no Ladders.

6. Had we marched up the River it was five Miles, [and] thro' Woods, and no Guide to lead us, and subject to ambushes, and also the Town would lye between us and our Fleet. The retreat was Voted for these reasons by a Council of War.

Objec. 4th. The drawing of[f] the Mortar Piece.

Ans. The Army had a pannick Terror upon them, so that the Officers said, as Soldiers we were bound to go on, but as Christians they would not advise it, seeing the Soldiers had lost their hearts, and ever left their Officers. The Fire Master came in and offered to take the place with the Mortar Piece; upon which the Officers Voted they would not draw off before the next day; at Sun rise the Pioneers would not be drawn nor any other, tho' myself and Officers did so long as we could stand on our legs endeavour to procure Men to work for money or any reward, but none would, and Capt. Hughes refus'd to play the Piece without a Breast-work, so that he declining, and no workmen to be got, according to the Councils Votes, the Army fainting for water, we were forc'd to retreat.[1]

[1] But see *Clark Papers*, iii. 57; Thurloe, iii. 507; *Memorials of Sir William Penn*, ii. 90.

Objec. 5th. My breaking up the Commission alone.

Ans. I sent for the Commissioners, and when no Man expected my Continuance in this life for twenty four hours, they delay'd two days; and then only Capt. Butler came; so that unless I should have suffer'd his Highness Service to be prejudic'd, for the Instructions being in my hands if lost as possibly they might, all had been in confusion, and therefore the necessity of his Highness Service requiring it, I hop'd I did that which another neglected for the good of his Service.

Mr. Eaton told me also he had spoken to his Highness Concerning me, who said to him, 'bring a paper from him, and I will get the business of his Liberty effected,' which Mr. Eaton told me, and added that he thought his Highness intended the last paper I gave him containing my answer to the last Objections. Whereupon I drew one for him, which he delivered to his Highness; which his Highness when he had read it was displeas'd with, and cast it from him again, and said it was not the Paper. And that he observ'd that time and ever after his Countenance was chang'd against me, for he expected a Petition acknowledging an Errour.

Mr. Eaton went to my Lord Fleetwood, and shewed him a Copy of my Petition before mentioned, who told him that would not please, for it desir'd a trial, and My Lord expected a Submission. Whereupon Mr. Eaton came to me and told me all. Upon which he concluded I must die in Prison, except I acknowledged a fault, and earnestly press'd me to try what I could say. I reply'd, I would never be a knave upon record under my own hand, being innocent. If I had offended why was I not Questioned? He said it would never be used to my prejudice. Upon which I writ to his Excellency the Lord Fleetwood as followeth.

'My Lord,

Mr. Eaton came to me this morning, and gave me a sad account of the dislike conceiv'd against my Petition. The Reason of my drawing of it in that form (having none to advise me) was because

I thought his Highness and Council did desire to see me Cleared of such aspersions as were by others cast upon me, especially in a printed Paper, which they were pleas'd to suppress and imprison the Printers; besides I do hear some others do intend a Charge against me, and should I acknowledge my self guilty of what that Paper or they say, I should wrong my Conscience and Cause, and also exclude my self from all other Plea in my own defence; but tho' it have disgusted, yet it was not so intended, and I am not a little sorry that it was Construed otherwise than what was my aim and end. But what is charged upon me as a fault, Vizt. My return home, I shall in that particular throw my self at his Highness feet, so far as I act not against Conscience (which I hope is not desir'd), and wave all Arguments which I might alledge in my own behalf. I do confess my heart did run homewards, in regard that after near four months trial I grew daily worse and nearer death.

2ndly. The great wants of the Army and my unusefulnes there, yet judg'd I might do more good here.

3rdly. The great disorder and wickedness in the Army, which tho' I endeavour'd by all means to suppress, Yet

4thly. The Officers were so far from assisting that they rather endulged the Soldiers, never punishing Swearing nor drunkenness, but admonishing [only], and am most heartily griev'd that I could do no better Service there and have Offended his Highness by my return, whose Service your Excellency knoweth I desire to promote, tho' restrain'd, and whose prosperitie, with success to the Cause of God in his Management, is by none more unfeignedly pray'd for than, My Lord,

Your Excellencys very humble Oblig'd Servant,

ROBERT VENABLES.'

Tower, Oct. 26th 1655.

I also drew up this ensuing Petition.

'To his Highness the Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The humble Petition of Robert Venables
Sheweth,

That your Petitioner being made sensible of your Highness displeasure Conceiv'd against him for his return home without your Highness licence (his distemper depriving him of ability so maturely to Consider the thing as the weight of the matter did require), he cannot but in Conscience endeavour to remove the great prejudice your Highness hath contracted against him for that inconsiderable Act, but most humbly implores that your Highness in Clemency would be pleas'd to Commiserate his sad weak Condition and sufferings, and to wave your Highness indignation (occasion'd by that indiscreet Act) against him, and grant him enlargement from his sad Confinement. And as in duty bound he shall not only endeavour but ever Pray &c.

ROBERT VENABLES.'

It is evident this Petition owns no fault save the hand of God upon me depriving me of my sences, and that I came away in that condition, but what I had to plead in my justification shall follow. For this was extorted from me, and M^r. Eaton, whom I ever honour'd as my Chiefest friend, over entreated that from me which all other Persuasions besides threatenings could not induce me to yield unto. This Petition M^r. Eaton delivered, and solicited the same some few days, but having stay'd about three Weeks in London, and dispatch'd all his own Occasions he came to me and took leave of me, I desir'd his stay a few days, but he would not, yet did not doubt but God would appear for me, and deliver me thence, and clear my innocency. Upon which I mov'd the R^t. Honourable the Lady Viscountess Ranalaugh and Sir John Clotworthy, who in two days brought my discharge, of which here followeth a Copy.

'Oliver P.

These are to will and require you forthwith to release and set at Liberty the body of Robert Venables now Prisoner under your charge in our Tower of London, our former Warrant for his Commitment to your Custody notwithstanding; hereof you are not to fail, and this shall be your sufficient Warrant. Given at Whitehall this thirtieth day of October 1655

To John Barkstead Esq.
Lieutenant of our Tower of London.'

'Wednesday the 31st. of October 1655 at the Council at Whitehall. Upon reading a Letter from General Venables directed to the Lord President, taking notice that he had seen the Councils Vote of Yesterday [1] Concerning his enlargement, and signifying his readiness to deliver up his Commission as General, and to give a resignation of his Irish Command, in regard he hath not the Commission with him.

Order'd that upon his delivery into the hands of Mr Jessop his Commission as General, and to give a resignation of his Command in Ireland in Writing, Containing withal an undertaking to deliver up the Commission itself so soon as he can get it with conveniency into his Power, the Warrant for his enlargement shall be deliver'd and put in Execution; and that as soon as may be he do also deliver up his said Commission for his Command in Ireland according to such his undertaking.

Henry Scobell Clerk of the Council.'

'*October* 31st. 1655.—I have this day receiv'd from General Robert Venables his Highness Commission for Constituting him Commander in Chief under his Highness for the Army and forces rais'd for the Expedition to the West Indies, bearing date the Ninth of December 1654.[2] As also an Instrument under his hand

[1] *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1655, p. 402.
[2] The Commission is printed in *Thurloe's State Papers*, iii. 16.

and Seal for surrendering his Command as Coll. of a Regiment of Foot in Ireland, Commander in Chief of the forces in Ulster, and Commander of the Town and Castle of Carrickvargus, according to the purport of the honourable Councils above mentioned order.

William Jessop.'

'I do hereby Certifie that the above mention'd is a true Copy of the Councils order, and that the Commission therein mention'd was accordingly delivered to the said Mr. Jesopp, together with the resignation above said, for which the Receipt above mentioned is a true copy.

John Barkstead.'

Dated at the Tower of London
November 2nd 1655.

But I have omitted one thing during these transactions. General Penn desir'd me not to yield to acknowledge any fault or submit, and promised me he never would. I had not reason to trust his word, Yet I told him I would not for I knew no fault I was guilty of, and therefore could confess none, neither would I so much prejudice my own innocency as unjustly to Charge my self. Yet he did, and so got Liberty a Week before me.[1] Also I grew very weak and sickly in that time, by reason I was lodg'd over a great draw-well which sent up unwholesome Vapours and damps, which much distempered my weak body. Whereupon I desir'd the Lieutenant of the Tower to Change my Lodging, and named some to him ; he refus'd and told me his Officers must have them. I reply'd they might have those I was in which they might well endure, but I could not, but was delayd, and at last denied. All which, with the refusal of a Vessel to bring me by Sea from Portsmouth, to take security for my appearance that I might use Physick, the putting me into a Chamber where I durst not take Physick and keeping me there, caus'd me to remember some

[1] Oct. 25. See *Memorials of Sir William Penn*, ii. 134, 141, and *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1655, p. 396.

words spoke to me by some friends before I left England ; which were (Vizt.) That I was sent to be destroy'd not to do Service, That I was popular in Ireland, had too much Interest there, and that they knew not how to displace me, or free themselves from me, but by such a removal as might occasion Death. I look'd upon all this as malice to disgust me against the State, and therefore regarded it not; tho' for my place some friends can testifie that I was weary of employment, and desir'd a private Life. and this Voyage being only to settle a Colony (which was effected) I might then retire without prejudice to myselfe, or raising a dispute or jealousie in the State (which would follow) if I gave up my Command.

Having given a true relation of things as they were done I should have made an end. But the sight of a short but slanderous Pamphlet[1] causeth me to take occasion to answer some things mention'd in the same, which are ignorantly, or rather maliciously related. Tho' his Highness imprisoning the Printers and sellers of the same might serve for a Confutation of it wherein the state is Concerned, Yet I conceive that will not excuse me, and my Silence might be judg'd a guilt, or inability to Vindicate myself. I shall therefore track him in his own path ; and here I must also Apologise that the Author not owning it by his name might justly excuse my silence, and also his speaking in such general terms that no man of reason ought to judge him peccant who is not personated. Yet that I may not prejudice the truth in not discovering his uncharitable Censures, which unless detected might mislead some, I take my self engaged to reply to his Closely insinuating aspersions.

And seeing he lays down as his method of proceeding three grounds I shall take them in his own order.

1st Quere Whether the setting forth of this Army were really intended for the glory of God, and propagation of the Gospel ?

[1] *A brief and perfect Journal of the late Proceedings and Success of the English Army in the West Indies. . . . Together with some Queries inserted and answered . . .* By I. S. an Eyewitness. Reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany*, iii. 510.

A. Except this Anonimus durst be so shameless as to Charge the Supream Authority with Hypocrisie, I suppose he might easily have answered himself in the affirmative; for first it is granted from grounds of reason and Scripture that to Punish Offenders and Offences doth advantage the Glory of God. for all just Wars are for the revenging or repelling of wrongs done or offer'd to such over whom God hath placed that power or Magistracy, who in Conscience and reason ought to defend those from Injury over whom God hath given them Authority.

Magistracy is for the punishment of evil doers, and the praise of them that do well; which duty if the Magistrate do not discharge he bears the Sword in vain, or at the best doth not make that use of it which God and the nature of Authority require from him. And what wrongs the English have suffered from the Spaniards in those Western parts his Highness in his declaration Concerning the War against Spain doth set forth, and were publickly known almost to all Men, and no reparation made. And if the Lord should please to give these Countries into the Possession of a Protestant Nation (except M^r. I. S. judge the Protestant Religion will not propagate the Gospel and advance the Glory of God), I suppose the Glory of God and the Gospel must undeniably be promoted. But the Calumniator tacitly blasteth the state (who had so strong provocations and just grounds of War) with this close insinuation Page 3^rd. 'To conclude the design to be Altogether grounded upon a wrong and corrupt principle were to accuse our Grandees &c;[1] Where he doth infer that they did not aim at either of those ends. and gives his reason drawn from the Instruments; and because some did lye open to just exceptions he concludes against all. And a little before he tells us the secrecy of the design caus'd honest Men to desert it:[2] which is not true, for some (not out of Conscience but for other engagements and employments, as the dissuation of Friends, or disgust against his Highness) did decline that Voyage, but not in reference to the injustice of the quarrel that I know of,

[1] *Harleian Miscellany*, v. 511. [2] *Ib.* iii. 510.

who have more reason to know it more than this man; but I suppose he would have all Protestant designs made publick that each private Man that engages in the Service might have his Conscience informed, or indeed the publick Popish Enemy acquainted to prepare for resistance. As for the Officers, so many as scrupled were satisfied in the justice of the quarrel, and indeed this I. S. gives enough to answer himself, (Vizt.) The Spaniards wrongs to our Plantations, and that no Articles of Peace extended to the south of the Tropick. But because he was not Consulted with, belike that he might be a Ghostly father to the Soldiers to Counsel them, he Concludes that all Men that went were men of no Conscience, and [men] to pin their faith on other Mens Sleevs, but all rational Men know that to discover a design is to overthrow it.

Next he comes to the good intent of the Cause, upon which he gives his opinion from the ill success of the Action. A good argument learnt by him out of the Turkish Alcoran; had he read over the 20th of Judges he might have found the Israelites who prosecuted a good quarrel, and by the Express Command of God, yet fell twice before the Benjamites, but he then covers this unhandsomely by the Servants disobeying the commands of their Masters, but shews not wherein, pretends selfe seeking, but gives no instance, and Casts blemishes without Cause or ground upon all. It may be some might be persons that came upon the Account of Spoil and Pillage; but he should have been so just, if an ocular Witness (as himself saith), to have instanced in some who gave most evident signs, or expressed so much in words, and not to have blasted all for the fault of some who could not be unknown. Then he falls back to the justice of the quarrel, and gives four reasons, the first [1] and last [2] fitter for the mouth of a Papist or atheist than (what he would be thought) a Protestant. The second and third gave me ground to engage in the design, with what I alledg'd at the first.

After this he disputes and Concludes that of the Legality of the

[1] 'In regard those they went out against were idolators.'
[2] 'Conquest is free to all people.'

Cause, but makes it no Argument of the good intent; nor do I, but if the justice of the Cause be Clear'd to me, the intent of the designers is not to be any scruple, [it is sufficient] to know but my own intents in Acting of which my own heart accuses me not. Then he leaves all with a Confus'd mixing of good and bad, but in the Conclusion excuses no man but Condemns all, and Concludes the Army so bad that no good could be expected from them. I do not plead for the Armys Piety. Neither Officers nor Soldiers almost [were] known to me before I was engag'd in the design. I crav'd my own Regiment for one, and that the rest might be drawn out of the Irish Army, season'd with hardships and hazard; but the design seemed to be laid aside, and at last came on again so fast that my request was denied, as not to be done in time. Yet no Officers were taken on but such as had the Commendation of some of his Highness Council, Chief Ministers of State, or Officers of the Army (and I could do no more), the Letters of recommendation left in Secretary Malins [1] hands. The private soldiers were promis'd out of the old English Army but I Confess not perform'd, save as this nameless author relates; and if any were prov'd unworthy among the Officers he was laid aside; but who ever saw an Army Consisting wholly of (and I confess this had too few) Religous Men in it. But nevertheless let this author or any Man else instance their rapes, murthers, Plunderings &c. either in England or Barbadoes, tho' I know few armies where such Offences are not Committed, yet I never heard of any in either of these places that I remember, and I am Certain none that I heard of escaped unpunish'd; but tho' he cannot instance in one of these Offences in the Army, yet he prefers the Spaniards before as less Wicked. And here I suppose he must Confess himself a Papist, or a very Mean Historian, or exceeding forgetful, who hath read the Spaniards Conquests of those parts (set forth by their own Country Men), and his ears glow not at the horrid Cruelties, and more than barbarous inhumanities practic'd by the Spaniards (out

[1] William Malyn, Cromwell's private secretary.

of a wanton bloody humour) upon the poor Natives; or can he forget his Highness late declaration of the date of [1] 'Of the grounds of the War with Spain,' and can read of the Massacres of the English, and yet prefer those Men before the English Army, who were protestants, tho very loose and debauch'd, yet by discipline restrain'd from such outrages, but he hath no mind to speak one word in the Armys defence, which shews him to be of Cham's [2] lineage desirous to trumpet (to the uttermost of his malice) his Country Mens infirmities. But tho' I do not excuse the Common Soldiers of the Army from Prophaneness, which indeed had too many debauch'd persons in it, as Consisting of the worst men either of England or the Plantation, yet, as I said, outrages were not acted by them; and for the Officers, there were some Godly Persons, eminent for their Piety and Valour and Services in their Country, as Major General Heynes, who is the only one he Commends, and Coll. Fortescue, afterwards Major General, much esteemed by Godly Men, Ministers, and others, for his Piety and Valour, and Conduct declar'd in several Services in England, with some others as Capt. How, and several of my own Regiment. Yet he takes no notice of them at all, not Considering that often the denomination is given from the better and ruling part in Scripture, where a Godly reforming King brings his People to be reckoned as Religious, he Causing them to serve the Lord; and indeed the Major part of the Officers were Civil, though not able and fit for employment, which could not be known to me who was a stranger to them until trial was made, tho' they had good men to recommend them as is said, and had serv'd the State. But he mentions not Adjutant General Jackson a prophane Drunkard, and Whoremaster, a Man that stood Charg'd (and the Charge prov'd) of Perjury and forgery, Concerning whom, as being known to me, I had with

[1] *Scriptum Domini Protectoris contra Hispanos*, which according to Masson, passed the Protector's Council Oct. 26, 1655. It appears to have been drawn up by Fiennes, and Milton's Latin version was published Nov. 9, 1655. Masson, *Life of Milton*, iv. 241.

[2] Ham's.

Major General Worsley mov'd his Highness, but he was notwithstanding forc'd upon us; nor Coll. Buller, who never yet clear'd himself about the loss of Scilly,[1] but for the generality of the soldiers, take the Opinion of Major General Daniel[2] (which was the Opinion of others) in a Letter to me whilst in Prison. That part of the Letter followeth:

'I wonder not that you fell under the Extremity of difficulties, Considering (except some few trusty Officers) that you carried with you the very sweepings of some part of England; and tho' I know God is not limited to Instruments, yet his name is most Principally engag'd with his People.'

His second query he passeth over refering us to what hath been said, and what followeth, and so shall I refer the reader also, as he doth, to my Answers before and which follow.[3]

His third he tells us of the great preparations and strength of the Army, and Gods oppositi[on] to them. As to the success, I answer that we effected what we were sent about; the fixing of a Colony, tho' we fail'd in the place which we first attempted, not through the Valour of the Opposers, but forc'd away thro' want of Water, and Carriages to take along with us all Conveniences, and tho' we were well provided for, yet those Provisions staying behind (not by our fault, who would have stay'd for them but were not permitted), we were Constrain'd to leave Barbadoes, having almost eaten both them and our small stores (that came with us) up, and so could not stay longer for them, lest we had perish'd our selves and destroy'd the Plantations. And our necessity enforcing us to go with what we had, we were as Persons without Accommodations of arms, ammunition, or Provisions. And that it

[1] Sept. 1648. See Hoskins, *Charles II. in the Channel Islands*, ii. 241.

[2] Major General William Daniel, then in Scotland, whose brother, John Daniel, served in the expedition. See Thurloe, iii. 508.

[3] 'Whether those that were of the army were fit instruments to be employed in the exaltation of God's work' &c.

should be, as he saith, marvellous to see Persons perish of thirst in those Torrid Regions, I see not. It may be he will say we might have Landed nearer to the City. I have answer'd that already, and refer the reader to judge whose fault it was, the Seamen, or ours, who were Carried so far off against our wills, and thereby ruined, being exposed to hunger, thirst, and all inconveniences which the Climate could inflict upon our men, whereby we were weak'ned, as also with bad and scant diet, as is before related, and the Enemy had time thereby given him to call in all the strength he could make.

Next he gives us the journey itself, and beginneth with the Armies, relating of what manner of men they were formed. I shall not say anything now, having spoken my thoughts before, and Confess he speaks too much truth, and shall mention nothing till we Come to Hispaniola, where he gives us that number of the Army, in whose number he is Mistaken some hundreds, for the Muster Rolls makes them Six thousand five hundred fifty-one, and he Seven Thousand; and saith they had three days Provision at their Landing, but it being delivered out two days before they landed, the Seamen Caus'd the rest of them (which I knew not till we were on shore) to feed on that allowance before Landing, so that the most of them had but one days Provisions to live upon when they Landed, too small a proportion for them if we had Landed at Hine River, much more disproportionable to so long and tedious a march.

Next he mentions the Proclamation against Plunder, the reason of which, and my Opinion with my Actings, I have given before, and refer the reader to the same, it being the Commissioners Act, not mine, tho' they saw the discontent it rais'd in the Army yet persisted in it. As to the avarice of Persons,[1] let them bear the blame that deserve it[2]; yet to speak Conjecturally (I suppose) those that were more pertinatious to have it, or refus'd the Army Pillage, and yet gave them no Pay (and how can men subsist

[1] *Harleian Miscellany*, iii. 515.

[2] 'That were guilty. I was only passive and renounced all interest in it.' Povey's MS.

without Pay or Pillage), and refus'd the Army liberty to have any inspection into management of it, or a subsistance out of it, are most likely to seek their own advantage by it; and of any of these no man can Charge me, or if they do my own transactions will plead my excuse and vindicate my Innocency.

Next he tells us the Army had no Opposition in Landing except excessive heat of the Sun and intolerable dronght,[1] which was so great that some drank their own Urine, others died. I would here query of him what Opposition could be worse for us than [to] our Want of Provisions (as before is related), to have heat and thirst in the Extremity Added; what greater difficulties than hunger, heat, and thirst (miseries not to be overcome), could an Enemy cast in our ways, or wish to befal us, yet these he passeth over with a slight expression of nothing but Heat and thirst in the Extreams.

Next he brings us to the River Hine, and tells us of our short stay and refreshment;[2] which was short indeed, for no other refreshment had we after two days fasting save a little water and sitting half an hour upon the Ground, tho' our purpose was to have got more, and being told a foord a little higher would give us a passage over, to come to our Ships to receive our necessaries; but it prov'd so far off that we were that night without Meat and drink, and caus'd us to fast near forty hours longer. Then he relates a small Skirmish, which was occasion'd as is before related.[3] We met with Coll. Buller and Cox our Guide, who promis'd to bring us to water, which was joyful news to our fainting Men; and lying near to the Fort I sent some Officers to View it, some reported it low, weak, and unflanked; finding them differ in Opinions I sent the Engineer, who then came to us, who assur'd me it was a regular well fortified (but small) piece. Having got a little strength by resting me, and exceedingly troubled with a violent Flux, I went my self; and if my Eyes were able to see it was a Fort about Twenty five Yards Square, and seven or Eight Yards high at least.

[1] *Harleian Miscellany*, iii. 515. [2] *Ib.* iii. 516. [3] *Ib.*

I sent some into the Woods to search for ambushes, and the Officers being generally very weary, I went myself with the Guide to see that done, which I could not procure others to do,[1] and so fell upon the ambush, but not into it; for we discover'd them before they mov'd towards us, and the forlorn fir'd, but spent their fire over nimbly, which gave the Enemy advantage to fall in with their Lances before they could Charge again, and so routed them. Whereby I was endangered which mov'd the Officers to press me not to march (as I ever used) with the Van, if not with the forlorn: and this I speak to Vindicate my self from the imputation of rashness, which some Charg'd upon me, tho' I did nothing but upon necessity, and what I could not procure to be done by others; and also to shew the reason why I was not in the Van the second time, it being the very earnest pressing desire of all the Colls. But whereas this occular Witness saith they routed the first Regiment, I reply, I saw no man run but the forlorn, which Consisted of Seamen, and the Sea Regiment reliev'd their fellows who had no Pikes (and therefore routed), and beat back the Enemy presently. I pursu'd them within Cannon Shot of the Town, and then we, as it is before related, for the reasons alledged retreated to our Ships, for to refresh our Men, who had most of them fasted four days, except what fruits they had found in the woods, which were generally Oranges and Lemons.

Against our next advance we made all the Provision we could to carry Water and Brandy; but all we could do was too short to supply our extream want. The fight I have before related, and shall not now repeat anything; only I can but confess with him to my grief the unworthy fall of Major General Heynes. But must contradict this relator as to the number of the Spaniards. Gentlemen of Credit and Judgment who were on board affirm'd to me they saw at least Three thousand march out of the Town, but this Spectator saw but fifty. We were assur'd by Cox our Guide, who had lived twelve years amongst them, that they could

[1] See *Memorials of Sir William Penn*, ii. 85.

bring into the Field Five Thousand Men; they had time to draw them together, and no man will Conceive they would lye still, and only send out fifty to fight. But I say further, that in those Continual Woods or Wildernesses, where not above Six could march abreast, few could be seen, neither in the Rear nor those in the Woods. Our Forlorn were Four hundred, and the Enemy fir'd upon them in Van and flank at once, and if fifty could do this let any Man judge, and [if] so many as three thousand [were] drawn out of the City its probable they could not all stand Idle. He said also half the Army was routed; an utter untruth; two Regiments were only routed; and the Enemy was beaten back, and retreated not untill forc'd away by the Sea Regiment led on by Vice Admiral Goodson and myself,[1] and about a hundred of Major General Heynes's we stayed from runing away. And who ever knew the Spaniard so much fool or Coward as not to follow success to the utmost when a fair advantage offer'd itself. For the Number of the slain, he reckons Six hundred, after two hundred lost in the Woods, and three hundred wounded [so] that most of them died, as he saith; and tho' we never had more blows, at our leaving Hispaniola he makes our loss One thousand seven hundred,[2] whereas I am certain, as before I related, we were never more (if so many) than Six thousand Five hundred fifty one, and after all the death at Jamaica for Ten Weeks, which was our first muster, we were above five thousand eight hundred and therefore the death there, as is related before, and the loss at Hispaniola could not be above Seven hundred; so that he gives the Spaniards a thousand to grace their success with, and all the sick at Jamaica that died there to make up the number he allows them. Page 15 He relates that we drew up after this fight near the Fort etc. Several untruths are Contain'd in this relation; for as before we

[1] I. S. says the Spaniards retreated only because tired with slaughter, not able to proceed further. *Harleian Miscellany*, iii. 517.

[2] By a General Muster was found, that of 9700 men first landed, there remained then only 8000, the sea regiment included. *Harleian Miscellany*, iii. 518.

beat the Enemy back, recover'd our slain, and the night being at hand kept the ground all that night. A Council of Officers being call'd did advise to try the Mortar Piece on the Fort if it could play by Sunrise, otherwise draw off, lest we should perish by thirst, and this was the reason why the Mortar Piece was drawn off, and known to them that advis'd it, but if not known to all it was not usual to tell our results.[1] The Engineer was call'd, but as before none would work, and the place was unsecure, for several Cannon Shot fell within some few Yards of the place, took Six, Seven, or Nine Men away at a Shot, so that the Enemys Guns could bear upon the Place which was as open as the Ground the Men stood upon. And I am perswaded if there had been an Offence worthy punishment, those who had the power would not leave the matter altogether unquestion'd. The Officers finding their Men so base, and the danger of perishing by thirst so unavoidable that they Voted a retreat, and I think it was better to bring off the Mortar Piece than to leave it behind us. For the rest that followeth let the Seamen answer, whom it Chargeth with so much cruelty as to deny us Food, which brought them to eat Dogs, Asses, Horses, and indeed whatever they could get, tho' unhealthful.

We now follow him to Jamaica.[2] His 20th Page begins with the Proclamation he mentions against runing away, telling us scoffingly it might have done well if made before we Landed at Hispaniola; and so I think also, but we could not imagine our Men would have prov'd so base. And the old Adage might have answered him, Good Laws have their rise from evil manners. And also at our landing he tells us the weak opposition that was made, but the Number of the Enemy is untruly related; we were assur'd there were upwards of three thousand in the Country, and generally all of them living in or near to the Town, in which were four or Six Churches, and Houses to have quarter'd Twenty thousand Men; and if (besides those in the Country) all could make up but Five hundred let any Man judge; and all were drawn down to Oppose

[1] consults ? [2] *Harleian Miscellany*, iii. 520.

our Landing, for we saw their fires made to give notice of an Enemy approaching the day before we Landed, and I do believe were generally drawn to the Sea side for their defence.

Next he mentions our Number Seven Thousand. When he mustered us at first (Page 12th), he made us but Seven thousand, tho' as before our greatest number was but Six thousand five hundred fifty one, and of the Seven thousand he mentions to be landed at Hispaniola, One thousand two hundred were Sea Men Regimented under Vice Admiral Goodson, and of those he cuts off One thousand Seven hundred as lost (Page 16 and 17) at Hispaniola. Sure our Men were like Bees, that after a shower (if overtaken with it) lye dead, but revive again with the next breaking out of the Sunbeams, or else he is a very false Muster Master, and an egregious Lyar. As for their out-witing us, he sure thought us fools because we admitted of a Treaty, and thereby had Cowes brought in which otherwise we must have wanted, and had also Hostages Men of quality and worth (as their Chief Mayor, and Don Acosta one of the best men amongst them); and yet if they stood out we were at no loss, we had our Army to reduce them, which must have been the way if we had never Treated, and so were at no loss, and yet got refreshment and fresh Meat for our Men without blows or trouble, which else we must have wanted; and now let any Man judge how we are over-reach'd, and what simple souls we were Easie to be abus'd by any; and yet when they broke we got Hostages, and in the Interim gain'd knowledge of the Country, and set division among themselves. As for their Goods, it now appears who Coveted plunder and Spoil, because the Army was was not March'd all night in an unknown Country, all Wood, without Guide to direct them, to possess an Open Town, where little I believe was to be got (for there was not almost anything when Jackson took the Island formerly), and the Money, and Plate, and richest movables were I suppose carried away upon the first notice of our approach, and yet he Complains of our Simplicity in loss of the Pillage, and whereas he saith they drove away their Horses,

Cattle &c, I answer'd this before, and in two days we recovered them again. As to the order against killing Cows by single persons, the reason is given before, to which I refer the Reader; and must needs say that our Mens Misery and wants proceeded from the want of food from the Fleet, who refus'd to supply us, as is already before related very largly under the hands of several persons of honour and Credit. And thus have I done with this Malicious traducer, but that those who are under the States frowns should meet with base language from Slanderous Tongues is no News, Envious Spirits taking that Opportunity to vent their Malice.

There remains some objections which may seem to be yet unanswer'd, which I shall resolve, and leave all to the Candid Judment of the Ingenious and unbias'd Reader.

Q. 1st. Why would I go before my Stores?

Ans. I declar'd my dissatisfaction in that particular, and was promis'd they should meet me at Portsmouth, and there I was order'd to stay for them at Barbadoes, and necessity forc'd us thence before they Came, except we should have eaten up and devour'd that Island, and so destroy'd it and our selves.

Q. 2nd. Why did I go with such a Rascally rabble of raw and unexercised men, never disciplin'd?

Ans. I desir'd my own Regiment and the rest out of the Irish Army, season'd with hardship and hazard, and after that the design was laid aside, as pretended, was hasted away, and promis'd Men out of the English and Scotch forces, who had (unknown to me till after) inlisted the rabble, and put them to us, and kept back their Old Soldiers, and we were not permitted to stay to try them what they were.

Q. 3rd. Why did we not keep them in better discipline?

Ans. Who ever read of an Army, tho' best disciplin'd, that was kept in order, which had neither Pay, Pillage, Arms, nor Provisions; much more was I unable to do it amongst a company who neither knew what order or Civility meant, and where the

Officers indulged them, never punishing almost any offence save by admonition, and my Commission did not permit me to punish myself but by a Court Martial.

Q. 4th. Why should I go on a design I knew not the reason of it?

Ans. I was acquainted so far with it as to know the Lawfulness of it, and the rest (tho I desir'd to know the same) was the States part, not mine, they being accountable for that, not I. Yet the Officers that scrupled any thing had their doubts Answered.

Q. 5th. Why would I go so bounded with Instructions and manacled by Commissioners?

Ans. I did propound to Mr. Secretary Thurloe (to whom I was commanded to make my addresses), that I might not have my Friends (by strict Instructions) made more terrible to me than my Enemies, for whoever attempted anything resolutely that (if it fail'd) was in danger of life to them that imploy'd him, and therefore needed all encouragements, the difficulties of the service being sufficient, to engage again. I was promis'd I should not; my Commission was large enough; and my Instructions,[1] save in one Clause (which all Commissions have in them) that referred to all further orders, which I Conceiv'd related to all further Intelligence upon transactions, not to the Commissioners Instructions, who I suppos'd were only to deal (as those sent me into Ireland by the Parliament and after by his Highness) in Civil affairs, which I was well pleas'd with, in regard that burthen would be taken off my Shoulders, which had in Ireland so much Oppress'd me; and to Confirm me in this Opinion there was a Clause in my Commission authorizing me to take and follow the advice of my Officers as occasion was Offered, but when the Commissioners Instructions were broken up at Sea they null'd all this.

Q. 6th. But why would I suffer the Seamen so to use me in Provisions and Arms &c. which were put on board for our use as well as theirs?

[1] For these Instructions see p. 111, *post*, and for the Commission, Thurloe, iii. 16.

A. There were few or no Soldiers aboard the Frigates who aw'd the Whole Fleet, and therefor the power was in the Sea Officers hands, and I had no means to help my self by force, and therefore stood at their mercy, being only able to shew my wants, and to advise and require Supplies, but not able to relieve myself.

Q. 7th. Why should I go with such Commissioners, so unfit and unexperienc'd Men?

A. I look'd not upon them as having anything to do in Military affairs, and in Civil they were accountable for their Actions, not I, and if my own affairs succeeded I was well.

Q. 8th. Why did I take my Wife and Soldiers Wives with me?

A. First, I acquainted his Highness I resolv'd to take my Wife with me, and its probable if his Highness had declar'd his dislike I had either left her, or not gone my self. Before [1] his Highness did only intend a Plantation, where Women would be necessary, and this proves also that I told his Highness before I went, that I proposed, if the Climate were not my Enemy, to stay there; and had so done, but that the hand of God forc'd me back. Some Officers (as Coll. Humphrys) did afterwards take their Wives with them without hindrance or blame, and for Soldiers Wives, whoever have observed in Ireland know the necessity of having that Sex with an Army to attend upon and help the Sick and wounded, which men are unfit for. Had more Women gone I suppose that many had not perished as they did for want of care and attendance.

Q. 9th. Why did I return home?

I did propound to Mr. Secretary Thurloe before I went, according to his Highness Command, that if the air agreed not with me I might therenpon return home, and that in such a Case my Command in Ireland might be kept for me. He Answered, God forbid we should send men to die, and not to do Service, and

[1] Besides?

for that reason my command in Ireland, and the Pay in the Interim should be reserv'd for me, which accordingly was perform'd and I receiv'd part of the Money in the Tower.

2^{ly}. The physicians advised my return as not possible to live there, they having tried all means, and found that what stop'd my Flux heighten'd my Fever, and what abated my Fever encreased my Flux; and I stay'd fifteen Weeks expecting recovery, and was Convey'd on board in a distracted Condition, which I had been in for a Month.

3^{rdly}. the Officers Voted and desir'd my return to Solicite their affairs, as being unable to do any Service there, and doubting I should not live to come home they joyn'd another with me in Commission to Solicite for them. The Vote was pass'd in a Council of War gathered against my Will, as before is related, and I stay'd Six weeks after it.

4^{thly}. A Colony, the work I was sent about, was effected, and no enemy appear'd save like Irish Tories, and no man will say that Ireland is not reduc'd.

5^{thly}. There were three Commissioners left besides my self, and one Voted my return, another signed the Warrant for the Ship to bring me home, only one refus'd.

6^{thly}. His Highnesse had Signed and Seal'd a dormant Commission thus endorsed, 'Not to be open'd but in Case of the Death, disability, or absence of one or both the Generals,' and those words were in the body of the Commission, which was broken open, and another General Chose in my place, and his Commission Sign'd, and he discharg'd his place for a month before I left Jamaica. The word absence implys an Answer to my desire to Secretary Thurloe for my return, for except I return'd I could not be absent from the Army, and disability seemeth to me to be inserted on purpose, as well as absence, to authorize and Warrant my Coming home without danger, according to my proposals to M^{r}. Secretary Thurloe. For why should another be Chosen, and Commissionated, and put in my place, without any Crime, and yet

I requir'd to stay there? In my Eye, and (I believe) in any rational Mans Judgment, 'tis inconsistent or unjust to set a Man aside without any fault save the hand of God in his distemper (which was my affliction not fault), and another to be put in his place, except thereby a Licence to return were Civilly Consented unto and hereby imply'd.

Besides Captain Butler, one of the Commissioners, did against the express declaration of Major General Fortescue in the name of the Army against his return home, as destructive to his Highness Service, come thence, yet was never question'd, tho' I offer'd to prove high debauchedness and fomenting of Mutinies against him.

General Fortescues Letter to his Highness of this return of his followeth.

'May it please your Highness.[1]

Albeit by other Letters I certified your Highness what I had said to Commissioner Butler, yet that not being satisfaction to me, because what pass'd was between him and me, I took occasion this morning in presence of Admiral Goodson, Coll. Buller, and this Gentleman, Rear Admiral Blagge, to tell the Commissioner that I conceiv'd, according to the duty of his place, he ought to tarry with us, and therefore protested against his going, in regard your Highness Service should in all probability receive damage by it, for that the two Commanders in Chief of the Fleet and Land Forces, impower'd by your Highness Instructions to act as Commissioners, could not in some Cases act without a third Person. I also desir'd his Concurrence with the General in nominating and appointing a Commander in Chief of the Army in the Generals absence, but he utterly refus'd, saying the state of things were now much altered, and he could not, nor would not allow of Admiral Goodson and myself to be Commissioners, nor Consent that I should be Commander in Chief in the Generals absence, nor appoint any other, nor stay to order and Govern

[1] Thurloe, iii. 681. See also pp. 674–5, for other letters on this subject.

things with the Commissioners, all which Rear Admiral Blagge can justify, and I Counted it a duty to be Certified to your Highness by

Your Highness most humble Servant
RICHARD FORTESCUE'

Jamaica Harbour,
23rd July, 1655.

I shall conclude all with a most thankful acknowledgment of the mercies of God to me in several eminent deliverances both from the Sword and Sickness. So that I may truly say I never saw more remarkable providences as to my personal preservation, Nor met with more Letts, Impediments, and cross Providences, in the management of the Publick Concerns in all my life.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Oliver P.

Instructions vnto Generall Penn, Collonell Venables, Aldr. Ricard, Collonell Haines, Mr. Maurice Thomson, Capt. John Lymberry, Capt. Willm. Rider, Capt. Thomas Alderne. Mr. William Williams, Capt. Goodson, Mr. William Vincent, Capt. John Brookhaven, and Mr. Martin Noell, for the manageing the southerne expedicion [1]

Whereas Wee have, by advice of Our Counsell, resolued with all convenient speede to send into America a Squadron of Shipps of Warre consisting of 14, and seueral other Shipps of burthen to carry Provisions and other necessaries (a list of all which shipps you shall receive from the Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navie), and to send with the said Shipps 3000 land souldiers in 6 Regiments and 100 horse. And with the said Forces to Attaque the Spanyard both at sea and land in those parts; who hath vnhumanly murdered diverse of Our people there, taken away their possessions, and doth exercise all Acts of hostility against them as open enemies, and hath seuerall other waies given iust cause to this State to take and prosecute the aforesaid Resolucions.

And reposing trust and confidence in your prudence, faithfullness, and integrity, We have chosen, constituted, and appointed, And doe hereby constitute, chuse, and appoint you to bee Our Commissioners for the Ordering and manageing of the designe and vndertakeing aforesaid, according to the Instructions now given vnto you, or such others as you shall from time to time receive from vs on that behalfe.

[1] Stowe MSS. 185, f. 83.

1. You shall therefore vppon the Receipt of these Instruccions meete at some convenient place in the Cittie of London, and apply your selues to this worke.

2. You shall informe your selues of the State of the Fleete intended as aforesaid for America, what provisions of all sorts are already made, both as to the nature and quality of them, as allsoe to the quantities and proporcion of them ; And what you shall find defective or short, you shall certifie your advice and oppinion therein vnto vs in writeing, and by what meanes the same may most conveniently be provided and with most expedicion.

3. You shall take Consideracion of all things which may bee necessary for the carrying on this present designe, as well in Referrence to the land Army as the Sea Forces, and to certifie your advice as in the next precedent Article.

4. You shall consider of two fitt persons to be sent away ymediately to the Barbadoes and the other Caribbee Islands, who may Communicate there with such persons as shalbe thought fitt concerning this designe, and make such preparacions there in Order therevnto against the Coming of the Fleete thither as shalbe necessary, And you shall consider of fitting instruccions to be given to the persons who shalbe sent as aforesaid.

5. You shall consider what Forces and supplies will bee fitt to be sent after the present Fleete, and of the time of sending them, and in what manner.

6. You shall generally consider of the best and most probable meanes for the Carrying on and ymprouement of this vndertakeing, In Case it shall please God to give vs Success in the present expedicion, for the Honour, benefitt, and advantage of this Comon Wealth, as well in respect of trade as otherwise.

7. You shall from time to time certifie to vs your oppinions and advice concerning these perticulers, and shall not comvnicate your advices or Counsells but by direccion from us.

8. You have hereby power to send for any persons to be conferred with, or ymployed in this business, or for the Execution of your Orders, as Allsoe to appoint Clerkes and officers to attend you in this service, And to appoint them just allowances, which being certifyed to vs Care shall be taken for the payment of them.

9. You shall take Care that the persons you ymploy, especyally

the Clerkes, be trusty persons, and such as you may have entire confidence in.

10. Our will and pleasure is That you, or any Three of you, doe put in Execution these powers and Instruccions.

JOHN THURLOE.

Whitehall 18°
August 1654.

[THE COMMISSION OF THE COMMISSIONERS FOR THE WEST INDIAN EXPEDITION][1]

Oliuer, Lord Protector of the Comon Wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging. To our right trusty and welbeloved Generall Robert Venables and Generall William Penn, and to our Trustie and beloved Edward Winslowe Esqr., Daniell Searle Esqr. Governour of our Island of Barbadoes, Gregory Butler Esqr. Greeting, Wee haueing taken into our Serious Consideration the State and Condicion of the Englishe Plantations and Colonies in the Westerne parte of the World called America, and the Opportunity and meanes which God hath betrusted us and this Comon Wealth with, both for the secureing the interest wee already haue in those Countries, which nowe lye open and exposed to the will and power of the King of Spaine (whoe claimes the same by Coulour of a Donation of the Pope) at any time when hee shall have leisure to looke that way ; and also for getting Ground and gaineing vppon the Dominions and territories of the said Kinge there.

Wherevnto Wee also hold our self Obliged in Justice to the People of these Nations for the Cruelties, Wrongs, and Injuries done and exercised vppon them by the Spaniards in those parts. Haueing a respect likewise in this our vndertaking to the Miserable Thraldome and Bondage, both Spirituall and Civill, which the natives and others in the Dominions of the said King in America are subiected to and lye vnder by meanes of the Popish and cruell Inquisition and otherwise, from which if it shall please God to make us instrumentall in any measure to deliver them, and vppon this occasion to make way for the bringing in the light of the Gospell and power of true Religion and Godlines into those parts, Wee shall esteeme it the best and most Glorious part of any Successe or Acquisition it shall please God to blesse us with.

[1] Add. MSS. 11410 f. 47.

And Wee haueing vpon these and other Consideracions raised and sett forth Land and Sea forces to send into the Parts aforesaid for th'ends and purposes before expressed, And Considering how necessarie it is that Persons of knowne prudence, Wisdome, and fidelitie, should be authorized and Comissionated by us for the better Ordering and mannaging so great affaires vppon all occasions, as things may emerge and fall out for the best Advantage of the State, and for the improvement of this whole designe; And Reposeing trust and Confidence in the abilitie, Circumspection, and fidelitie, of you Generall William Penn, Generall Robert Venables, Edward Winslowe, Daniell Searle, Gregory Butler, Wee have made, constituted, and appointed, and by theis presents doe make, constitute, and appoint, you the said Generall Robert Venables, Generall William Penn, Edward Winslowe, Daniell Searle, Gregory Butler, to be our Commissioners for the ordering mannageing and Governeing the Affaires aforesaid, accordinge to the Instructions herewith deliuered vnto you, and such others as you shall from time to time receive from Vs, And therefore we doe hereby Strictly charge and require you that you doe intend the said Service, and vse your vtmost dilligence and endeavours for the Carrying on and promoting the same, and observe, and keepe, and cause to be observed and kept, all and singuler the said Instructions, and such others as you shall hereafter from time to time receive from Vs, And we doe alsoe Streightlie charge and Comand all others whome it may concerne to bee ayding and assisting to you, and every of you, in the execution of the premisses, and to be obedient to your Comands therein as becomes, as they and every of them will answer the Contrarie at theire Perills. This Comission, power, and authoritie, to continewe in force vntill Wee shall otherwise order. In Witnes whereof wee haue caused these our Letters to bee made Patents. Witnesse ourself at Westminster the Nineth day of December, In the yeare of our Lord One thousand, Six hundred, Fifty and Fower.

This is a true copy. WILL AYLESBURY *Secret.*

Instructions vnto Generall Robert Venables giuen by his Highnes by aduice of his Councel vpon his expedition to the West Indies[1]

Whereas We have by our Commission constituted and appointed you Commander in Chief of the Land army and forces raised, and to be raised, as wel in England, as in the parts of America, for the ends and purposes expressed in the said Commission.

1. You shal therefore, immediatly upon the receipt of these Instructions, repaire with the Forces aforesaid vnto Portsmouth, where we haue appointed the Fleete designed for the afore-said service vnder the Command of Generall William Penn, to take you with the said army and forces aboard them to transport you into the parts aforesaid.

2. Whereas some additional Forces, as the seruice shal require, are to be raised in the Island of Barbadoes, and other the English Islands and Plantations, You shall vpon your arrival there, and vpon consideration had with the Commissioners appointed to attend this seruice, or any two of them (wherein also if you think fit you may aduise with some of the most experienced men in those parts), concerning the present designe and the Nature thereof, vse your best endeauors by such wayes, and meanes as you with the aduise of the said Commissioners or any two of them, shal judge most conuenient and expeditious, to levy and raise such numbers of souldiers as shal be found necessary for the better carrying on of this designe, the said souldiers to be either taken with you vpon your first attempt, or to follow after, as shal be by the aduise aforesaid agreed and directed. And Wee haue thought fit to leaue vnto your discretion, by the aduice aforesaid, what numbers of men shal be raised, as also the manner and meanes of doing thereof, because you may not at that distance be tyed vp by any instructions which may not suite with, or be agreeable to such accidents as may happen and fall out vpon the Place, but may be at liberty to proceed vpon the Designe, either without any addition of Forces in the Islands and Plantations aforesaid, or with a les or greater addition, as you shal find the nature of the seruice to require; And you haue also Power and

[1] British Museum, Add. MS. 11410, f. 41.

Authority from time to time by your warrant to cause such further supplyes of men to be leuyed in any the said Islands for the aforesaid seruice, as you with the aduise aforesaid shal find necessary.

3. The designe in General is to gain an Interest in that part of the West Indies in the possession of the Spaniard, For the effecting whereof We shal not tye you vp to a method by any particular Instructions, But only communicate to you what hath bin vnder our Consideration. Two or Three wayes haue bin thought of to that purpose.

1st. The first is to land vpon some of the Islands, and particularly Hispaniola, and St. John's Island, one or both ; the first of them hath no considerable place in the South part thereof but the City of Sto Domingo, and that not being considerably fortifyed may probably be possest without much difficulty, which being don, and fortifyed, that whole Island wil be brought vnder obedience ; the cheif place of St Johns Island is Porto Ricco. The gayning of these Islands, or either of them, wil as We conceiue amongst many others haue these aduantages.

1st Many English wil come thither from other parts, and soe those places become Magazins of men and prouisions for carrying on the Designe vpon the Mayne Land.

2. They wil be sure retreates vpon al occasions.

3. They lye much to the wind-ward of the rest of the K. of Spaines dominions, and being in the hand of the Spaniard will enable him to supply any part that is distressed on the mayne, and being in our hands will be of the same vse to vs.

4. From thence you may possibly after your Landing there send force for the taking of the Hauana, which lyes in the Island of Cuba, which is the back dooreof the West Indies, and wil obstruct the passing of the Spaniards Plate Fleete into Europe, And the taking the Hauana is so considerable that We haue thoughts of beginning the first attempt vpon that Fort and the Island of Cuba, and do stil judge it worthy of consideration.

2. Another way We have had consideration of is, for the present to waue the Islands, and to make the first attempt upon the mayne land, in one or more places between the Riuer Orinoque and Porto Bello, aymeing therein cheifly at Cartagena, which we would make the seate of the intended designe, secureing some places by the way thereto that

the Spaniard might not be to the wind-ward of vs vpon the mayne land wherein if you haue succes you will in al probability

1st Be master of the Spanyards Treasure which comes from Peru by the way of Panama in the South sea to Porto Bello or Nombre de Dios in the North sea.

2. You wil haue houses ready built, a country ready planted, and most of the people Indians, who wil submit to you, there being but few Spanyards there as is informed.

3. You wil be able to put the Country round about under Contribution for the maintenance of the Army, and therewith by the Spoile and other wayes probably make a great present returne of profit to the Commonwealth.

There is a third Consideration and that is mixt relating both to the Islands, and also to the mayne land, which is to make the first attempt vpon Sto. Domingo, or Porto Rico, one or both, and haueing secured them to goe immediatly to Carthagena, leauing that which is to the Windward of it to a farther opportunity, after you haue secured and settled that City with what doth relate thereto, if God please to give that place into your hands.

These are the things which haue bin in debate here, and haueing let you know them We leaue it to you, and the Commissioners aforesaid to be weighed vpon the place, that after due consideration had amongst yourselues, and with such others as you shal thinke fit to aduise with who haue a particular knowledge of those parts, to take such resolutions concerning the making of the attempts, and the mannageing, and carrying on this whole Designe, as to you and the said Commissioners, or any two of them, shal seeme most effectual, either by the wayes aforesayd, or such others as shal be judged more reasonable, And for the better enabling you to execute such Resolutions as shal be taken in the premisses, You are Hereby authorised and required to vse your best endeavors, Wherein Genll Penn Commander in Cheif of the Fleete is by Vs required to joyne with and assist you with the Fleete and sea forces as often as there shal be occasion to land your men vpon the Territories, Dominions, and Places belonging vnto, in the possession of or claymed by the Spanyards in America, and to surprise their forts, take or beate down their Castles and Places of strength, and to pursue, kil, and destroy by al meanes whatsoeuer al those who shal oppose or resist you there-in, and also to seize vpon al ships and vessels which

you find in any of their Harbors, and also vpon al such goods as you shal find vpon the land.

4. Such Resolutions as shal be taken by you and the other Commissioners concerning the way and manner of making your first attempt, and what you do designe therevpon, You shal certifye vnto vs by an Expres, and as many other wayes as you can, To the end We may know whither to send to you vpon al occasions that may fall out.

5. In case it shal please God to giue you succes, such places as you shal take and shal judge fit to be kept, You shal keep for the vse of Vs and this Commonwealth, and shal also cause such goods and Prizes as shal be taken to be deliuered into the hands of the said Commissioners, That so they may be brought to a just and true account for the publique advantage.

6. You haue Hereby powre with the aduise of the said Commissioners, or any two of them, to place Garrisons in any such Places as shall be taken in, and to appoint fit Governors thereof, and to giue them Commissions vnder your hand and seale accordingly, And to slight the said Garrisons, and remove the said Gouernors, as you by aduise aforesaid shal thinke necessary and for our seruice.

7. You haue hereby power and Authority by the aduise aforesaid to offer and giue reasonable Conditions to such persons as will submit to our gouernment, and willingly come vnder our Obedience, and also to treate and conclude for the surrendering of any Fort, Castle, or Place, into your hands, Hauing in all your transactions Care of preseruing the Interest of this Commonwealth. And you are to vse your best endeauors, so far as it is practical, that no dangerous person be suffered to abyde long in any place possest by you, vnles they be in Custody; And such as shal be taken Prisoners, You shal vse your best endeauors either by sending them into Europe, or otherwise as you shal find most expedient, that they may not be againe seruiceable to the Enemy in those parts.

8. You shal haue powre by the aduise aforesaid to raise such forces as shal be judged necessary in any of the parts which you shall gaine the possession of as aforesaid, and to appoint Commanders and Officers ouer them, and to arme, leade, Conduct, and dispose of them for the purposes aforesaid.

9. You shal giue vnto vs as Frequent accounts as may be of al

proceedings, That soe you may receiue our farther directions there vpon as shal be necessary.

10. Whereas all particulars cannot be foreseen, nor positiue Instructions for such Emergencies so before hand giuen but that most things must be left to your prudent and discreet management as Occurrences may arise vpon the place, or from time to time fal out, You are therefore vpon al such accidents relateing to your charge to vse your best circumspection, And by aduise eyther with the said Commissioners or your Councel of War as occasion may be, to Order and dispose of the Forces vnder your Command as may be most advantagious for the publique, and for obtaining the ends for which these Forces were raysed, making it your special care in discharge of that great trust comitted to you that the Commonwealth receiue no detriment.

APPENDIX B

A PERFECT LIST OF ALL THE FORCES UNDER THE COMMAND OF HIS EXCELLENCY GENERALL VENABLES, TAKEN AT A MUSTER, MARCH 21ST, 1654[1]

[*The regiment of General Venables*]

—	Officers	Souldiers	Staffe Officers
Generall's Company . .	12	69	8
Lt. Coll. Dawley[2] . . .	12	88	—
Maj. Mercer[3] . . .	12	80	—
Capt. Disney[4] . . .	12	82	—
,, Handcock[5] . . .	12	95	—
,, Butler[6] . . .	12	82	—
,, Hinde	12	85	—
,, Parsons . . .	12	89	—
,, Cooke	12	87	—
,, Pawley[7] . . .	12	80	—
,, Paris	12	75	—

Officers 120 ; Souldiers 912, besides 10 Staffe Officers [*sic*].[8]

[1] From the MSS. of the Duke of Portland. See the *Hist. MSS. Comm. Report on the Portland MSS.* ii. 90. An earlier list, dated December 1654, is to be found in the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, Addenda 1574–1674, p. 90.

[2] Lieut. Col. Edward Doyley, made Colonel of another regiment about this date.

[3] Francis Mercer, who became subsequently Lieut.-Col. of Doyley's regiment.

[4] Henry Disney, died April 3, 1655. Thurloe, iii. 505.

[5] Thos. Hancock, killed April 26, 1655. Thurloe, iii. 506.

[6] George Butler, killed on the same occasion as the last named officer, as was also Captain Obadiah Hinde.

[7] Was this Captain Pawlet of the firelocks, mentioned on pp. 31, 131, 133 ?

[8] This regiment apparently contained eleven companies, and the total of officers should be 132, not 120. The regiment of the General in the armies of the time frequently contained one or more extra companies.

[*Major-General Heane's regiment*]

—	Officers	Soulldiers	Staffe Officers
Major Generall[s company] .	12	119	10
Lt. Coll. Clarke [1] . . .	12	111	—
Major Barry [2] . . .	12	111	—
Capt. Walter [3] . . .	12	112	—
,, Tom [4]	12	97	—
,, Willett	12	99	—
,, Young [5] . . .	12	119	—
,, Smith	12	90	—
,, Bamford [6] . . .	12	85	—
,, Archbould [7] . . .	12	110	—

Officers 120 ; 1058 private souldiers [*sic*][8], besides 10 staff officers.

[1] Clarke died at sea on May 9, 1655, of wounds received on April 26. *Memorials of Sir William Penn*, ii. 99, 100. The petition of his widow, Amory, is in *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1655, p. 306.

[2] Samuel Barry, subsequently Colonel of this regiment, who survived all the hardships of the first colonists, and became after the Restoration a member of the Council of Jamaica and Governor of Surinam.

[3] Possibly this was Adjutant-General Walters, killed on April 18. Thurloe, iii. 506.

[4] Gregory Tom, a member of the Jamaica Assembly in 1665.

[5] Richard Young, who became later Adjutant-General of the army in Jamaica and died there. *Cal. Colonial State Papers*. 1574–1660, p. 454.

[6] Richard Bamford, subsequently Major, died in Jamaica. *Ib.* pp. 454, 462.

[7] Henry Archbold, became finally Lieut.-Col. of the regiment of Colonel Carter and was a member of the Council of Jamaica after the Restoration. See also Thurloe, v. 102, 128, 139 ; vi. 235.

[8] 1053 soldiers?

[*Colonel Fortescue's regiment*]

—	Officers	Soulldiers	Staffe Officers
Coll. Fortescue . . .	12	120	10
Lt. Coll. [1]	12	100	—
Major [2]	12	120	—
Capt. Bartlett [3] . . .	12	116	—
,, Leverington [4] . .	12	76	—
,, White [5] . . .	12	89	—
,, Davis [6]	12	123	—
,, Wells [7] . . .	12	111	—
,, Keene [8]	12	113	—
,, Edwards . . .	12	96	—

Officers 120 ; 1052 souldiers [*sic*][8], besides 10 staffe officers.

[1] Richard Holdip was originally Lieut.-Col. of this regiment, but at the end of March he became Colonel of the regiment raised at St. Christophers and in other islands.

[2] William Hill, previously Major of Fortescue's, apparently succeeded Holdip as Lieut.-Col. See *Clarke Papers*, iii. 56. Hill died, seemingly, before arriving at Jamaica. See *Cal. State Papers, Col.* 1574–1660, p. 454.

[3] Henry Bartlett, became Lieut.-Col. of the regiment and died in Jamaica. *Ib.* p. 455.

[4] Samuel Leverington, died of his wounds in April 1655. See p. 32.

[5] Thomas White, subsequently Major. He was probably the author of the narrative printed in *Clarke Papers*, iii. 54. See *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1655-6, p. 61.

[6] Bartholomew Davis, died in Jamaica. *Cal. State Papers, Col.* p. 454.

[7] Richard Wells, became Major and commanded this regiment from Sept. 1656. He died about January 1657.

[8] 1064 soldiers?

[*Colonel Anthony Buller's regiment*]

—	Officers	Souldiers	Staffe Officers
Coll. Buller	12	135	10
Lt. Coll. Barrington [1] . .	12	95	—
Major Bland [2] . . .	12	86	—
[Capt.] Barnard [3] . . .	12	96	—
„ Minne . . .	12	83	—
„ Poulton . . .	12	68	—
„ Throgmorton [4] . .	12	98	—
„ Bingham . . .	12	82	—
„ Cooper [5] . . .	12	88	—
„ Corbet [6] . . .	12	85	—

Officers 120 ; 916 priv[ate] sould[iers] besides 10 staffe officers.

[1] Francis Barrington, once of Henry Cromwell's regiment of horse in the Irish Army; author of an excellent account of the Jamaica expedition printed in 7th *Report Hist. MSS. Comm.* pp. 571–5. Letters of his are also printed in the *Thurloe State Papers*, iii. 646 ; vi. 376, 390, 512. He was accidentally shot about January 1660. *Cal. State Papers, Col.* Addenda, 1574–1674, p. 132.

[2] Michael Bland, Captain in Col. Phayre's regiment in Ireland in 1649, became Lieut.-Col. of Col. Holdip's regiment, and seems to have died in Jamaica.

[3] Edward or Adam Baynard? He died in Jamaica. *Cal. State Papers, Col.* 1574–1660, p. 454.

[4] Subsequently Major; executed for mutiny about 1656. See Thurloe, v. 152; *Cal. State Papers, Col.* Addenda, p. 124.

[5] Christopher Cooper, died in Jamaica. *Cal. State Papers, Col.* 1574–1660, p. 436.

[6] Vincent Corbet, became Major of the regiment and died in Jamaica. *Ib.* p. 454.

[*Colonel Andrew Carter's regiment*]

	Officers	Souldiers	Staffe Officers
Coll. Carter	12	97	10
Lt Coll. Bushell [1] . . .	12	82	—
Major Forgeson [2] . . .	12	112	—
Capt. Holford [3] . . .	12	87	—
,, Bowers [4] . . .	12	112	—
,, Blunt	12	63	—
,, How [5]	12	83	—
,, Salkeild [6] . . .	12	62	—
,, Fincher [7] . . .	12	64	—
,, Filkins [8] . . .	12	72	—

Officers 120 ; 834 private souldiers, besides 10 staffe officers.

[1] Died in 1655. *Cal. State Papers, Col.* p. 454.

[2] John Ferguson, killed April 26, 1655. Thurloe, iii. 506, 510. He appears to have been transferred to the regiment of General Venables after this muster took place.

[3] Nicholas Halford, one of the few officers who survived. *Cal. State Papers, Col.* 1661–8, p. 117.

[4] Nathaniel Bowers, died before 1657. *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1656–7, p. 134.

[5] See pp. 40–46, *ante*.

[6] Died in Jamaica. See *Cal. State Papers, Col.* p. 454.

[7] Abraham Fincher, died in Jamaica about August 1656.

[8] Filkins. Possibly the Lieut. John Filkins of Sir Hardress Waller's regiment in 1647. *Clarke Papers*, i. 32. He became Major of this regiment about October 1655. *Mercurius Politicus*, p. 5947.

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[*Colonel Edward Doyley's regiment*]

—	Officers	Soulldiers	Staffe Officers
Coll. Morris, but now Col. Dawley [1]	12	184	6
Lt. Coll. [2]	12	60	—
Maj. Read [3]	12	114	—
Capt. Tho. Thornhill . .	12	75	—
,, Noell	12	122	—
,, Smith	12	30	—
,, Stevens [4] . . .	12	60	—
,, Vavaster . . .	12	84	—
,, Thornehill [5] . . .	12	66	—
,, Downes . . .	12	35	—

Officers 120 ; souldiers 830, besides 10 [*sic*] staffe officers.

[1] This was the Barbadoes regiment, and Col. Lewis Morris, a planter there who had helped to raise it, finally declined to go on the expedition unless his debts were paid. Thurloe, iii. 250. Venables consequently gave its command to Edward Doyley, his own Lieutenant-Colonel.

[2] Major Francis Mercer, from the General's regiment, seems to have been appointed Lieut.-Colonel.

[3] John Reade, died about April 1656.

[4] Richard Stevens, subsequently Major. See *Mercurius Politicus*, December 1657, p. 152, and April 1658, p. 448.

[5] On January 20, 1656, George Smithsby was appointed Captain of the company late Capt. Augustine Thornhill's.

[*Total of the six regiments*]

Officers	720
Private souldiers	5702 [1]
Staffe Officers	60
	6482

[*Miscellaneous Forces*]

Scoutmaster Generall's Company [2] .	60	
Traine of Artillery [3] . . .	50	
Capt. Johnson, Officers 12 [4] . .	120	
Capt. Carpenter 10 [5] . .	56	
Reformados 2 [6] . .	100	
Capt. Haines and part of Capt. Jones Troope [7]	65	besides 12 officers.
	455	

Officers 36, souldiers 455

[Grand total 6482, 455, 36 = 6973.]

[1] There is some mistake in the figures. The total of the private soldiers in the different regiments, taking the numbers given, only amounts to 5602.

[2] Isaac Berkenhead was Scoutmaster-general. See Thurloe, iii. 157, 523.

[3] Captain Hughes commanded the artillery. See p. 82, and Thurloe, iii. 507.

[4] This is evidently a foot company, possibly firelocks attached to the train.

[5] Philip Carpenter. See p. 31 and Thurloe, vi. 691. This was a troop of horse raised in Barbadoes. See Thurloe, iii. 325.

[6] Capt. Jennings of the Reformados was killed on April 18, and on the 26th the Reformados were cut to pieces, only seventeen escaping. Thurloe, iii. 506.

[7] Captain Haines, or rather Captain Heane, son of the Major-General, commanded a troop of horse raised at Barbadoes. Captain Jones commanded the troop raised in England, but he himself and most of them had been driven back by a storm.

APPENDIX C

Additional Documents from the Papers of General Venables

[These are derived from the Venables MSS. in the possession of Mr. Lee Townshend, copied by Dr. Gardiner.]

I

Jamayca—Councell of Warre held at St. Jago della Vega the 16 of June.

Present.

The Generall	Coll. Carter
Major Generall Fortescue	Coll. Holdipp
Coll. Doylye	Adjutant Gen[ll] Berkenhead
Q[r] Master Gen. Ruding	Lt. Coll. Barrington
Lt. Coll. Bartlett	Lt. Coll. Bland.

Ordered.

1. That Commissary Generall Clearke bee appointed C[ommission]er of all prizes taken by the army, and that his acquittance be sufficient for any person that shall bring in any prizes, and his discharge to any one that shall bye them ; and that for the present hee shall have a gratuity for soe doeing : and if afterwards it shall amount to any considerable vallue hee shall then bee allowed a sallary.

2. That the Judge Advocate bee appointed cheque.

3. That a letter be written to Generall Penn that the Strong Rowland and the sugar in it, being 50,000 lbs, bee reserved for the use of the army.

4. That the Field Officers keepe their howse in the town, and two howses besides (so that there is 5 for every regiment).

5. That Major White [1] have a firlogh for 9 months, in which tyme if hee returne not, hee is to lose the benefitt of his imployment or place.

[1] Thomas White, Major of Fortescue's regiment. See p. 118.

II

Instructi[ons] for Coll. Bland, June 1, 1655.

1. You are to march with the Horse and Foote under your commande in this party unto the river Minoa, and to quarter in the Estantias about the hill, as neare together as with convenience you can.

2. You are to preserve all the plantations with those at Yana [?] from the enemy, that they receive no releife from thence, and alsoe to take care that your owne men doe not ruine or spoyle them, nor shoote any cattle, and also that they be not permitted to digg up any cassavy, but by order, and that they doe not spoyle any sugar cane or worke or fruit trees.

3. You are to secure in stores, and send to this towne according to further orders, all the . . . sugar . . . hides, salt, bedsteads, graine, and provision, copper [?] cauldrons, howsehold stuff of all sorts, and all materialls for planting.

4. You are to take up all horses, carts, draughts, for raiseing horse and dragoons for the army, and send them to this place.

5. You are to hinder the soldiers from killing any tame cattle, save in case of necessitye, and that by order, and to that end you are to appoint a commissary, that so equall distribution may bee made of what is killed.

6. You are to block up the enemy in the hills, woods, and mountaines, and if advantage bee offered, by the advice of a councell of warre to pursue the armie or the enemy, or to doe or act any thing or things for the reduceing the enemy and promoteing his Highness' [interest].

7. Whatsoever pillage or booty you shall gaine from the enemy you are to bring into publique accompt, and deliver over the same to a commissary, or some one that is faithfull and trusty, that it may be divided equally for the generall good.

8. You are to leave 150 men at Don Duarte Acosta his estantia.

9. You are to send to the headquarters in this place constant [information] from [tyme] to tyme of all occurr[ences].[1]

[1] Bland executed his orders very badly. See Barrington's letter in 7th *Rep. Hist. MSS. Com.* p. 574.

III

Commissions delivered to severall officers att Hispaniola and Jamayca.

Novembr 1654 Mr. Thomas Gage, chaplaine to the Generall's Regiment.

March 1655.

14 [?] John Daniell, Auditor Generall
26 John Reade, Major to Coll. Doylye
31 William Smith, Captaine } Coll. Fortescue's Regiment
31 Henry Debben, Lieut. to the said Capt. Smith } Coll. Fortescue's Regiment

April 10 Richard Fortescue, Major Generall
15 Richard Bamford, Major to the R[egiment] late M[ajor] G[eneral's]
16 Isaac Berkenhead, Adjute Generall [1]
25 James Butler, Adjutant Generall
25 Robert Smith, Major
25 Wm. Wingbell, Capt. } G[eneral's] Regiment
25 Henery Skepworth, Ens to Major Smith } G[eneral's] Regiment
25 Ralph Swinerton, Leut. } G[eneral's] Regiment
25 Edward Sackwell, Capt. } G[eneral's] Regiment
2 Ralph Betts, Capt.
28 Thomas Smith, Ensigne [to] Capt. Bing[ham] } Coll. Buller's Regiment
30 Vincent Corbet, Major } Coll. Buller's Regiment
30 John Barrow, Ensigne } Coll. Buller's Regiment
30 John Vaughan, Chaplaine } Coll. Buller's Regiment
30 Michael Bland, Lieut. Coll. } Coll. Hold[ip's] Regiment
30 James Bland, Ensigne to his father } Coll. Hold[ip's] Regiment
14 Stephen Rosse, Capt. } M[ajor] Generall's Regiment
29 John Hamilton, Capt. } M[ajor] Generall's Regiment

May 1655.

10 Thomas Heane, Coll. in Coll. . . .

[1] 'Scoutmaster General' this should be.

10 Hen. Goddard, Ensigne
5 Lieut Col. Ward
10 John Ballard, Lieut to him
10 Thomas Elendere [?], Ens. to Capt. Bets } Generall's
10 Abram Peg, Capt. } Regiment
20 Henry Ferrobosco, Lt. to Capt. Bets
20 Hen. Potter, Capt. Lieut
20 Robert Minshin, Ensign to the G[eneral]
10 Thomas Allen, Capt. Lt. to } Coll. B[uller]
10 Sam Greene, Ensigne to }
10 Capt. Sprye
20 ? or 10 ? John Fisher, Lt. to Capt. Hyde [1] } Coll.
Robert Stephens, Ens to } Doyly
Capt. Downes }
10 Hum. Groves, Lieut. to the said Capt.
10 James Berry, Capt. Lt. to }
15 James Holdip, Ensigne to Capt. } Coll.
Clapthorne } Holdipp.
15 Hen. Bartlett, Lieut. Coll. } M.
15 Thomas White, Major } Rosse [?]
10 Ralph Hardwick, Lt. to Capt. }
? David Dugla, Ens. to Capt D }
18 James Ruddiard, Lt. to Capt }
18 Wm. Hall, Ensigne to the said Capt. Ro—? } Major
18 Thomas Hill, Captaine } Generalls
18 Ben. Gordward, Lt. to the sd. Capt. } Regiment
18 Thomas Freeman, Ensigne [2]
18 Matthew Paine, Lt. to Capt Fry
18 Antho. How, Ens. to Capt Corbett
18 Hen. Midleton, Lt. to Major Corbett
19 George Audlye, Capt., Coll. Clerks Regiment [3]
? Richard Holdipp, Coll to the Regiment late Major Generall Heane.

[1] These commissions should probably all be dated May 10, and Hyde is probably a mistake for Sprye.

[2] Uncertain whether belonging to the Major General's regiment or the next.

[3] Col. Clarke who succeeded Heane died May 9.

APPENDIX D

Letters concerning the English Expedition into the Spanish West Indies in 1655[1]

I

On Saturday the 14th of Aprill 1655, wee landed on the Iland Hispaniola about 7500 men, at Punto de Nizao, about 7 leagues westward from St. Domingo. The regiments were these of the General, Major General Heane, Collonel Fortescue, Collonel Cart[er], Collonell D'Oilie, Collonel Goodson (the sea regiment), and halph of Colonel Holdhip's regiment. There were alsoe a company of Reformados, two troops of horse, and the Scout Master General's foot troopers, and Captain Pawlets fire locks. These were landed very well, and without opposition of the enemie, in a good sandy bay, being all victualled for 3 dayes, besides that of landing.

About 4 of the clock in the afternoone we began our march, though without guide, the Reformados leading the van, in manner of a forlorne, the Scout master General's foot troopers in the reare of them, and Captain Pawlet's firelocks on both wings in the woods to discover ambuscados, and Collonel D'Oilie's regiment was in the van of the armie with the Generall in person. Thus wee marched some 3 or 4 miles to a large sevanna or plaine, where wee discovered some few of the enemie's horse, that did indeavour to hem in a file of Reformados that went before to alarme the body, but upon sight of the body they fled. It being by this time night, the army drew up on the said sevanna or plaine, and quartered there all night. About 10 of the clock this night came to us part of the horse, and part of Collonel D'Oilie's regiment that were not landed when we marched. Wee had heere the benefit of a river adjoyning, running levell, as all the rest wee saw on that Iland did; on this sevanna there was only a cowkiller's house, (which is a great profession in their Iland by reason of the innumerablenesse of wilde cattle, which they kill for their hydes and tallow sake only, leaving the flesh to be devoured,) which the souldiers burnt.

[1] Rawlinson MS. D. 1208, f. 62, Bodleian Library.

The next day being the Sabbath day and the 15th of Aprill, after prayer early in the morning wee began our march : the forenoone wee marched through severall faire sevannas, one of them being 8 miles round by guesse, where wee observed that the enimie had burnt up the grasse to drive the cattle from the sevannas that were in the armie's march, ere noon severall of our men dropt downe dead for want of water, about noon we came to a river neare dried up, where wee refresht and marcht downe by the sea side about a mile, where the Major Generall discovered the enemie at a fire. Our scouts made up and chaced them into the woods, where the enemie lying hid at the said scouts returning kill'd one of them, vizt. Capt. Allen, one of the Generall's kinsmen, another we lost, being a trooper and his horse, hearing noe more of him ; after this rested one houre having marched 10 miles ; after which without resting wee marched through a lane arched about with orange trees, exceeding smooth, and soe shadowed that the sun could not shine in upon us. Heere our souldiers refresht themselves with oranges. This lane lasted 7 miles, being soe broad that 6 men could march a brest ; at the end of which the enemie ambuscadoed, expecting straglers, and fired upon a file that were a lost forlorne (used onely for to alarme the army), but did noe execution ; whereupon the whole army chased them, running about a mile, and killed one upon the place ; the enemie wee supposed to be 16 (this was a gigantike man as they generally were, and by his habitt one of them that killed 2 of our 3 scouts) ; at the end of which chace wee came up to a plantation and the channel of a river, where wee found water standing in severall holes, it having beene a very dry time in the country of late, and the rainy monthes at hand ; the rear of the army quartered in the said plantation ; the van stretched a mile and a halfe farther into a high way, through which wee marched, and there lay that night in greate scarcity of water, with sad and weary limbs having in all marched that day 18 miles.

Munday the 16th wee began to march about 6 of the clock in the morninge, where, with a forlorne, Coll. Fortescue's regiment had the van ; we had not marched above a quarter of a mile, ere we came to a sugar mill, which was in a village having severall houses. This plantation yeilded good water, brave hoggs, and fruits, which place was perhaps through the tyrednesse of the scout not discovered over night, whereby our quarters mought have been mended. Heer was alsoe a

chappell furnished with good store of popish trumperie, which wee wasted. Wee found all their goods carried away, except a great quantity of good sugar the army tooke with them to drinke with their water and oranges, and to eate with their bread, as alsoe about a ship loading of cow hydes dry'd, which were not embesled. Heere was alsoe found soe greate and strong an iron chest that it could neither be remov'd nor broken open by such of the souldiery as attempted it ; which our Generall not knowing of till wee were marched two miles thence, was much troubled thereat, whereby to have opened it by some more forcible meanes. At this place wee tooke a prisoner, but could get him to confesse nothing, not soe much as his name ; him wee tooke along with us and used civilly. About halfe a mile farther wee came to a faire large river of good water, where the army dranke, and about halfe a mile another. A mile farther wee came to a sevanna about 2 miles long, at the side whereof were some houses, and a sugar plantation, one of them was a faire house where we found sugar and cotton, horse, hoggs, and fowle. It being about ten of the clocke wee rested till a little after noone, and advancing wee found a large lake of good water, and therein good store of wilde fowle, as duck and mallard &c. And marching through woods and small sevannos about 4 miles, where being some small plantations by the way, our horse in some of them were furnished with Indian wheat. After which we came to a river called Hinum distant 3 leagues from St. Domingo, where wee stayed one houre, and discrying over the said river a man, the Generall sent over one of the forlorne swimming to discover him, who found him to be one of Coll. Holdhip's men that was left behind sicke ; this man told us of the landing of Coll. Buller's and halfe of Coll. Holdhipp's regiment at that place, being a sandy bay where the army afterwards lay ; heere the enemie had fortified a passe, neare a small old fort with breast workes of bush and sand that lay at the most convenient landing place, heertofore the place where Sir Francis Drake landed when he tooke St. Domingo. However upon sight of Coll. Buller's forces, being 1500, the enemie quitted the place, and consequently such an advantage as that 100 good souldiers might have beaten back an armie. This river before mentioned the army did desire to foard, and had but for want of sufficient tryal, through defect whereof wee marched 4 miles that night exterordinary, and by our forlornes often loosing their way a mile more wide the river. At the end whereof wee came to a sevano

of long grasse, where wee quartered that night without any kind of refreshment, water or other, save a very few oranges, and our victualls which wee brought with us out of the shipps were now spent ; this dayes march wee supposed to be 12 English miles. This night the Generall, sending the horse to looke for water, discovered a foarding place over the river, and then sent downe a commanded party of 1800 men to make good the place. In the night an out centry kill'd a Spaniard refusing to stand.

Tuesday, the 17 of Aprill wee began our march about 4 of the clock in the morninge, and ere sun risinge wee with joy enough foarded the river whereby to drinke, and then came to certaine coca trees, of which fruite they make theire chocolate. After which we marched through small sevannos and woods, where wee found an Irishman who gave us false intelligence, though we compeld him with us, which afterwards cost him his life ; a mile farther another sevanno, where we rested an houre, neer which the souldiery caught severall sheepe and goates. Whilst wee were thus resting, some stragglers of ours found certaine baggage horses of the enemies, which they tooke, and discovered alsoe a number of houses, which was a sugar worke where there was sugar onely remaining, the other goods were conveighed away ; theere was alsoe a chappell (as by every sugar worke there was found to bee), as alsoe a prison and stocks. The soldiers brought forth a large statue of the Virgin Mary, well accoutered, and palted her to death with oranges. Heere alsoe they found a black Virgin Mary to enveigle the blackes to worship. At this plantation the armie rested one houre, where we found an old Spaniard that would give us noe materiall intelligence ; heere there came in a negro to us, who had civill entertainment and the Generall's protection ; he gave us hopes of more negroes comming in, which succeeded not. There came in alsoe a negroe who had formerly served Sir Thomas Warner, Governour of the Iland St. Christophers, and was taken [and] enslaved by the Spaniards ; he spake good English and Spanish, and proved very true, and killed 2 of the Spaniards charging with us, he obtained his freedome. Thence wee marched to the towne led by our Irish guide in a fair broad road, the ground being hard the reflective heat forced severall haltes, though against the will of the Commanders. About 4 of the clock Coll. Buller's forces fell in with us, soe we came together into a very large road where 20 men might march a brest, and was very neare a white fort of about

9 gunns neare the sea side, which alsoe stood neere that road. The Generall with the engineer and some few more going in a carelesse manner before the forlorne to view the fort, the engineer doubting an ambuscadoe, discovering one of the enemie lying flat on the ground the centinell fired upon him, whereupon they immediately broke out upon our forlornes, and routed them totally, and killed about 20 upon the place, whereof were Capt. Catts of the sea regiment that commanded the forlorne, Adjutant Generall Captain Thomas Walters, Capt. Cox one of our pilots, Mr. Temple the Generall's owne secretary, and Mr. Murford the Commisary assistant secretary, with severall other brave fellowes. Upon the retreat of the forlorne Capt. Pawlet's firelocks that were in their reare shamefully rann, and beate the Reformados into disorder, which they soone recovered, and faced the enemie a great while, (who were drawing into order ere either side fired) to let the fainting army draw up in the reare, and Coll. Murfy an Irishman on horseback, being in the head of the Spaniards, waved a handkercheife, whether by way of bravado or what, is not knowne ; as soon as the enemie were in order, he brandished a broad fauchion, upon [which] the enemie fired 2 vollies on the Reformados without [their] returning an answer, our armie [then being] not fully in order in the rear, but their third was soe answered that they ran from the hearing of it, bearing away theire dead and wounded ; they did little mischeife with their shott, save that they killed Capt. Jennings, captain of the Reformados, and one Reformado. Assoon as they fled they did play upon us with their cannon out of the fort, within pistoll shot of us on the right hand, though to small purpose ; the fort was before undiscovered by meanes of some young wood about 16 foot high between us and it.

The sea regiment that had the van chaced the enemie a mile to a great sevanno before the towne, and there stood : meane while some cannon from the citty walls fired at them in 2 places. In their chace the Generall came out of the wood to them, where he had layen hidd beyond the enemies ambuscadoes. There was about midway from the fort to the sevanno a small wall fort, out of which [the] enemie ran, ere wee came neare them ; most part of the army passed the fort that played on us where we rested our fainting army ; the great guns from the said fort gawling us much. Thus wee lay without water, ready to perish, and of hunger and want of sleep, till about midnight wee drew

of, [and] marched towards the great sugar worke where we rested the day before. In this march our men fainted excessively, the Generall himselfe being not a little put to it. About 6 or 7 of the clock in the morninge we reached this sugar worke, where with sugar and oranges and sleep wee made good refreshment. After noon wee marched downe 2 miles to the sea side where Coll. Buller landed, and there lay. Heere wee were in some kind of quiet, having the River Hinnum for our refreshment, and victuall at halfe allowance from the shipping that attended heer. While the Generall, Viceadmirall, and severall other shipps, road and crossed before the towne, which were shot at frequently by the Castle and other forts, and answered by our shipps into the houses of the towne. It being resolved wee should confront the towne to encourage the armie, but God be blessed wee lost not one man from our shipps, although we rode within a mile or so of the towne and forts, nor receved but few shots, the enemie being none of the best marksmen.

On Fryday the 20 of Aprill the enemie came to us to our very guards with a considerable partie ; they killed severall of our straglers as they came, and then set upon the van of the guarde somewhat rashly in a very narrow way, but were soone put to the runn, leaving their captaine, a gallant brave fellow, and 6 or 7 more behinde them dead ; wee lost but one of ours in the charge. In the pockets of these were found the Pope's Bulls, an Agnus Dei, and some reliques in the Captain's purse, else nought.

Saturday, Sunday, and Munday we lay still.

On Tuesday the 24 of April wee begann our march againe towards the towne, with a mortar peice, 2 small feild peices, and other carriages drawne by men, in that hott and little water'd country, and 6 dayes provision at halfe allowance, wee reached that night but 2 miles, and soe lay without water.

Wednesday the 25 we began our march againe, intending to passe the fort neer the towne as before, as alsoe the sevanno befor the towne where the shipping lay readie to land water for us under their cannon and the enemie's alsoe. About 4 of the clock, sufficiently faint and almost choaked of thirst, wee came neare the fort, where wee were put in order by the Majour Generall. The forlorne of 240 was commanded by Adjutant Generall Jackson and Capt. Butler of the Generall's regiment. Next to them the Reformados and Capt. Pawlet's firelocks

in their rear, then followed Capt. Carpenter's horse with the Major Generall Hean in the head of them, the Generall's regiment had the van of the armie, thus wee marched after wee came into the broad lane neere the fort, in a good full body, shoulder to shoulder and to swords point. When we came neere the fort wee saw that the enemie had cleered away all that young wood from before the fort, which before did shrowd it, soe that now the lane lay open to the fort. Assoone as wee came within convenient distance they let flie 7 guns with case and round shot upon us, neverthelesse all that were before the horse pass't the fort soe farr that they were beyond the open ground, and there fell into an ambuscado of the enemie. Ours fired indiscreetly upon them in a volley, upon which the enemie taking that advantage, and following soe close and in good order upon the forlorne, that they were forced to a disorderly retreat, passing by the Reformados. Heereupon Capt. Pawlet's firelocks that were in their rear, ere they saw the enemie ran, together with the forlorne, and left the small spot of Reformados standing, which were soone borne downe, there being left of 55 that charged that day about 18. The enemie together with those that fled disorderly routed the horse that came up to charge, and all the van of the armie, soe that enemie with theire lances killed untill they were weary of killing, falling cheifly among the bravest of our men. The enemie carried of with them 8 colours, vizt. the Reformados', the firelock volunteers', 5 of the Generall's, and 1 of the Major Generall's. The persons of note that fell by this small partie of the enemie (which were not conceived to be above 80 at the most), were, first Majour Generall Hean, who charged with the horse, and afterwards in the middest of the rout quitted his horse, and went on alone on foot, being very ill armed, where he stood till he was killed by the enemie ; his Lieutenant Colloncl died shortly after of his wounds. The Generall lost his Major, and three Captaines, the bravest of his regiment. Captain Pawlet was kill'd flying ; very many more officers and other stout men were there shamfully killed. After all this slaughter the enemie was beaten back by 4 files of well disciplined men of the Generall's, but were first wearied with killing. Upon this wee regained our ground, and planted our mortar peice neere the fort, notwithstanding the great mischeife the enemie did us with their great guns, who scarce shot a shott in vaine. By morning wee had brought our morter peice ready to play, when the Generall being forced by the faintnesse

of the army sent an order for the drawing of the morter peice with all silence, who was once in mind to have left it behind, doubting whether the souldiers were able to bring it off; wee buried the shells in the place, and a little way thence fired the carriages, and soe wee stole away. The enemie pursued us not. The whole armie except the rear guard marched away in all manner of disorder, hasting to get water, which they found not untill they came to the bay where they lay, and there dranke to excesse, and soe having noe other nourishment, because they generally lost their victualls as well as their armes, shovells, pickaxes, and hatchets in the rout, they suddenly fell into the flux. About 1500 of the stragglers thus drinking, there came downe to them 2 of our owne negroes to drink likewise, which some of them spying cried 'the enemy,' upon which all imediatly threw away their armes, and ran for it, some for feare leapt into the river, whereof 3 were drowned, soe much were we cow'd and daunted. About night the rear came up, though with much adoe, they did soe faint for want of water, and incamped in our old ground in the raine for want of our tents; for wee found by sad experience that it rained little or much everie night, which raine, the cold therewith, and our want of victuals, did much increase the flux amongst us, and weakned our hartlesse armie. Heere at a councell of warr Adjutant Generall Jackson was tried for cowardize, [who] being ordered to lead up the vann of the forlorne, followed in the reare, where he was cashiered, and had afterwards his sword broken over his head, and in irons sent aboard on hospitall shipp till farther order. Wee sent out parties frequently to fetch in victualls, but for want of our men's fighting many of them were cut of: and once our men surrounding some cattle, fired at them, and kill'd one another, soe that 16 fell in one day after this heedlesse manner: 10 of the enemie would usually cause 100 of ours to flie, and leave their officers to be killd, soe great a feare and terrour did God strike into the hearts of our men. Which the commanders and feild officers perceiving, it was at a councell resolved to attempt St. Domingo noe more, but retire to Jamaica, whereby the sick and faint armie might rest a little and recruite aboard, and not lye in the raine, it being of it selfe enough to wash away an armie. Upon this wee got our men aboard in 2 dayes, in a most sad and lamentable condition, having never seen men soe altered in soe small a time. The enemie during the shipping of our men, never disturbed them in the least, but as the saying is, made them

a golden bridge ([out] of question) to be gone. The shipping having noe provision for the horse, though they cost some thousands in England and the Barbadoes, especially there being some single horses of 100li sterling each, were with such as were to be [1] on the Iland shot and killed, some of which were taken and eaten by the souldiers as a greate delicate.

This done, Fryday the 4th of May the ships weighed from before the towne, and we set saile, having lost of our armie about 1000 men, and 2 or 3000 armes in 20 dayes. And the armie having scarce 2000 healthfull men amongst them to doe service. The losse which the enemie susteined wee conceive not to have been above 40 men in all.

For the country of Hispaniola, our knowingst men doe conclude it as fruitfull and pleasant, as is express't by severall authors, who doe set it out as deserving the greatest accomodations [2] of any Iland in these Indies if not the whole world. The mould of the earth is of a hazell colour, the grasse in many of the sevannos high, though in this dry season, and that not broad leaved and ranke as in the Barbadoes, but small and sweet like unto the English grasse. It abounds with cattle, as beeves and hoggs, tame and wild, soe that you cannot goe many stepps from the sight of some of them ; there are alsoe sheep, and goates, and delicate fowle for food or pleasure, parrats and parrakitos good store. The place is not much stored with people as heeretofore, by reason of other plantations since inhabited where silver and gold is found, this Iland being at present not inquired into for either of them. Their maine trade is hides, sugars, tobaccos, and coccolate &c. which they exchange for wine and apparell from Spaine, the rest they want not greatly. To this may bee added the greate healthfulnesse of the place, and temperatnesse of the aire especially in the nights.

The towne of St. Domingo is scituate on a plaine, next the sea side, in a bay to the westward of a river running by the eastward part thereof, a most safe and convenient harbour for shipping not drawing above 16 feet water. The towne is walled to the westward, hath the river to the eastward, the sea to the southward : but to the northward it hath onely a lime hedge growing thick about it, but since our men being there we doubt not but the enemie hath perfected his line and breastworke of earth, which he was throwing up all the time we delayed comming before the towne. They shot upon us in the shipps, and by land on our men

[1] such as were taken ? [2] commendations ?

in 6 severall places, castles, forts, and the towne walls ; what other places whence they might plant their cannon they had, wee know not, onely wee beleeve they had 100 peice of ordnance on carriag to annoy us if occasion were, as by them that came to us. Wee could espye about 11 or 12 churches and religious houses, which seemed to be stately stone and bricke buildings, these shadowing the other northern buildings of the towne, which wee compute to be four square and 2 miles about at least. Every night wee had a most delicious scent from of the shoare by the land wind as could possibly be smelt of the fruits, blossomes, and herbs of the towne, there being many gardens joyning to the houses. They cannot make above 1700 men in armes in St. Domingo, but by reason of the advantage we gave them, and the governors sending for supplies out of the other small townes, there were thought to be thrice that number. Sir Francis Drake tooke it, Anno Domini 1586, with 1000 men the same day he landed, kept it a month, and sold it for about 7000li sterling, because for want of men he could not inhabit it. God was not pleased to deliver it up unto us though with 9500, and 80 saile of great shipps and small vessels, soe that never were men more disapoynted then some of us, nor did the hearts of English men faile them more then in this attempt. There was nothing to be atributed to the valour of the Spaniard towards his owne preservation in all this, for he was very ready to fly when we ran not, but onely to God, who respited the enemie, because perhaps he found the reformers worse then the unreformed themselves ; and surely a more ungodly army of professed protestants this wicked world cannot afford (and 'twere pitty it should), which I conceive to be the inward cause of our misfortune and disgrace.

On Saturday the 5 of May the fleet stood away for the Iland of Jamaica. On Tuesday wee saw the Iland of Navasa like a small bowling greene, when Commissary Winslow died, and was thrown overboard ; the Generall, Vice Admirall, and Rere Admirall shott severall guns at his funerall.

On Wednesday morning, being the 9th of May, wee saw Jamaica Iland, very high land afarr off.

Thursday the 10th our souldiers in number 7000 (the sea regiment being none of them) landed at the 3 forts, or rather breast workes, about the point, [in] which there were 8 peece of ordnance yet had but 3 mounted, which played at us making about 20 shott ; there were of the

enemie about 300 men likewise to resist us with small shott, but all missed our men, who seing them desperately bent to land, leaping up to the middle in water, they abandoned the forts ; the Martin gally playing apace upon the Spaniard under whose gunns wee landed.

These 3 forts, or rather breast workes, were very strong and cannon proofe ; from these forts our men marched through a sevanno to the high way in a wood leading to the towne, where about half a mile farther, there was another brest worke for cannon and musquetiers, which without resistance we passed, and within a little mile of the towne, which lay 5 miles from the sea side, there was another strong brest worke with 2 very greate murderers to scoure the lane, where the enemie likewise appeared not ; breif their strength was such that if the enemie had behaved himselfe manfully he mought have worsted us. It was Fryday the 11th of May when the army marched into the towne, about 2 in the afternoon. In the afternoon of Saturday the 12th a Spaniard with a white flagg comming to our outguards, desiring a treaty was conducted unto the Generall. A treatie was agreed on, and 3 commisioned by their Governour, who was carried out of towne in a hammock for the pox ; meane while the enemie sent us 300 head of leane cattle, on purpose to make the least of the country.

On Tuesday the 15 it was agreed that the Spaniard should come in that day sennight out of the woods where they then lay, and bring in all their armes, and by the 16 June to be transported to Nuova Spania [and] have each man 2 suits of cloathes, 4 shifts, and to leave all there goods and negros to us, which may be about 3 or 4000. To dayes before their comming in was expired, they sent a letter (notwithstanding their 3 hostages whereof their pocky Governour was one) in to our Commissioners, [complaining of] the severity of the articles, to which if they complied, they were utterly ruined, and desired rather to expose their lives to the hazzard of warr then to condescend to such termes. Wee endeavored to hold them to such termes as they gave us at Providence Iland ; our Commissioners were Major Generall Fortescue, Coll. Holdhip, and Coll. Doylie.

Upon this letter of the enemies our Generall, by advice of one of the Spanish Commissioners (who exclaimed against the treachery of the revolted Spaniards in the bushes, declaring them rebells, in that they submitted not to the Articles), sent Coll. Buller with 2100 by sea and land to fall on the enemie neere a river 7 leagues to leeward our towne,

but the enemie was dispersed,[1] and onely a partie of about 300 faced our party awhile, being most horse, and soe went their wayes, never endeavouring to engage but to fly from us, having secured most of their best goods, their ordinarie lumber, as beds, bedsteds, tables, and some chaires, lying scattered 3 or 4 miles to and againe in the country. As for the towne, which they call St. Jago of the plaine, there was found very little household stuffe, and none but bedsteds, tables, and old chaires, except about 10000 hides lying in the houses on the floures for their slaves &c. to lie on, which were brought into a church, and ready to be sent to New England, for bisket, meal, and pease.

Fryday, the last of May, Coll. Buller return'd with all his men in verie good order and health, being onely able to drive away the enemie, who of late had driven away the cattle from about the sevannos neer us, and soe to discover the country, bringing noe materiall plunder with them save some beds and tobacco. Upon consultation at his arrivall, and considering that the onely way to famine the enemie by keeping him from his Cassavi bread, it was concluded that the next day a partie of a 1000 men should disperce and settle att severall plantations, where the other should follow in due time, to inhabit the country, which will be devided among the regiments, and every man to have his proportion of goods from the provence thereof, they manuring it themselves. And for the better carrying on heereof a committee is appoynted for the benefitt of the country. Soe farr our voiage and designe by land. By sea wee keep upon this coast, to cruse and lie in waite for the enemies' shipps, 12 friggats of good force, which are now readie to saile, and must attend this service till another squadron be sent to releive them.

As for the country it is much like that of Hispaniola, never a whit inferior in any particular, it is fuller of plaine, and better water'd by odds, most pleasant and healthful to the utmost, we have a land wind and a sea wind as at Hispaniola. The commodities of this country are sugar, Spanish tobacco, cotton, chocolate, hides, severall sorts of wood as Lignum vitæ, Brazill, or such sorts. Indigo will grow, so alsoe wine and oile. The King of Spaine to advance those 2 commodities having prohibited the growth thereof as the Spaniard tells us. Barley we have found and pease, so that we hope to brew beere and ale in time. Tis not soe hot as Italy by day, and cooler by night and mornings. The dayes differ a little in length ; at 7 of the clock it growes darke, and it is light at 5 in the morninge. There are noe other cities nor townes,

[1] See 7th *Rep. Hist. MSS. Comm.* pp. 571, 574.

but this on the Iland, and heere wee have above 1000 houses ; the streets not regular onely some, many of the houses of good brick and timber covered with tile made heere, other houses of clay and reeds, which doe reasonable well. Wee found onely 2 small shipps in the harbour, one was sunke, the other had chocolate, with wood tables and bedsteds readie made, and other goods. Wee have inumerable many wilde and tame cattle that feed by thousands on the sevannos, hoggs, and horses alsoe. The horse much better and larger than those of Hispaniola, soe that better horse are [not] to be seen in England. Victuals heere is therefore reasonable. Wee have butchers heere that kill for the army, and we have sufficient thereof, and bread of Cassavi with beskett. The 3 rainy winter months are August, September, and October, after which the horse and cattle are very fatt, and now at the worst some of them fatt enough. Wee have now 2 of our amunition and provision shipps come to us, and the rest are at Barbadoes expected hourely : when wee shall be soe well provided of all things, that when wee shall be satisfied,[1] as we shall be suddainly, at the entringe in by the point and other places by sea, and at the landing, and at the towne, wee hope by God's gracious assistance to keep our station, maugre the enemie who is round about us from the maine and the Ilands. Whereof I trust he shall be made sencible suddenly, and that wee are in respect of our good harbour and scituation better then if wee had taken Hispaniola, as now our councell and officers plainely see and acknowledge, soe that it is to be questioned whether any place in the world would have advantaged our nation more then this. Wee have heere a mine of copper, silver, if not one of gold, as the Generall hath by the Spaniard been informed. We take horse and dragoones for each regiment, the enemie being about 4000, whereof 600 Spaniards, and not 200 fire armes. Wee have but 7 sugar mills yet found. Pray excuse the disorderly account I give you of this country, because of the hast I am in, and the care I take to settle. Mr. Wadeson our cheife tresurer, goes with the hides to New England. Meane while I officiate as occasion is, but little will my businesse be I feare me, for the civill officers will have their pay in commodities of this country, unlesse our flax [2] in these parts bring in money, whereof we despaire not : by my next I shall tell you more of this country and conveniences thereof.

St. Jago on Jamaica.
1 June 1655.

[1] fortified ?

[2] fleet ?

II

St. Jago on Jamaica, June 15, 1655.—Our affaires heer are much unsetled ; the Generall and Coll. Buller are following home to give account of matters, and to presse for recruites, then have promised to returne.

The enemie lye still on the mountaines, expecting our deserting this country, but the raines now at hand will sweep them downe amongst us or destroy them. Wee have taken 20 or 21 of them, among other a rich fat woman, the richest of the country ; they annoy us not, but wee have what cattle wee please for driving in. The land is devided among the regiments, for money wee have none, nor are not like unlesse some prizes drop into our mouthes at sea, whereof 3 or 4 are sunk and taken before St. Domingo, having lefte a frigot there.

III

June 16.—The General's and Collonel Buller's returne into England is to vindicate the army from some aspertions, doubted to be cast upon it by some great ones, and a great debate ther is likely to be about it in England, as alsoe to hasten supplies of men and necessaries for such an undertaking, these return againe within a yeare, or at least have ingaged their honours for it to this councell.

IV

July 15, 1655.—Our Generall Venables with Collonell Buller are now taking their passage for England, full sore against the desire of almost every man, by what I understand, soe that our troubles and discontents are added to those former confusions and wants of meat and drinke wherein wee lay involv'd, neverthelesse wee trust God will deliver us out of them in due time, who are somewhat comforted at the newes of our last letters by the Charitie, dated in March last, whereby 14 saile, of victualls most, and some men of warr, are upon their way towards us, the Protector withall promising us very fair. Meane while sicknesse hath destroyed a considerable part of our armie, and about 1000 we have still remaining sick of the flux and feavors, (the usual diseases,) which have carried away almost all my best freinds, as the

Secretaries &c. but blessed be God who hath sent me health in the midst of sicknesse, and life when soe many lie dead, I find my constitution still exellently agreeing with hot countryes. Neverthelesse what through want of victualls on board and ashoare, together with the much sweating which this country is subject unto, I am brought to that passe that I need not dr Amie to keep me from pinguifying, being already fallen away 4 fingers about the wast, soe that by this I like my voyage the better, though I have alsoe learned patience thereby, and other particulars, which I thinke I could not have learned at home ; however this I can say, and I thinke there is not 20 of us can truely doe the like, that I doe not repent of my comming this voyage hitherto. About 6 dayes since there came into us voluntarily 50 of the enemie, greate and small, which wee suppose the raine which already falls dayly on the mountaines hath caused, those parts, as wee are told, being scarce habitable then: soe that in all wee have about 70 of the enemie among us, who have equal freedome and victuals with us as yet till the others are reduced, which wee doubt not will be shortly ; in the mean time they now oppresse us not, having not killed any of ours these 3 weeks, though before they dispatcht about 100 of our straglers unarmed ; neither doe wee feare the enemie from the maine, he having noe shipping, nor wee thinke force of men sufficient to oppose us. Our Generall goes home soe very sick that wee greately feare he will not recover it, and Major Generall Fortescue, who is to be then the Commander in cheife, is alsoe at present very ill. God grant these rainy moneths may beget some good alteration in point of health amongst us. Part of our Generall's businesse at home is to sollicite that the armye pay be otherwise then now it is like, and that wee be not bound to take land in payment, as hitherto they have thought to invest each regiment with such a province or such partidos of land, which now they are cultivating, planting tobacco, Cassavi bread &c. for sustenance and trade. This non payment nor hopes of any makes soe many Captaines and others desire to go home, and to quit theire interest rather then be soe ill paid as they count it.

V

Jamaica the 5 of November 1655.

The 11 ships lately arrived to this place with &c.[1] poore men I pitty them at the heart, all their imaginary mountaines of gold are turned

[1] 800 men under Colonel Humphries. See Thurloe, iv. 153.

into dross, and their reason and affections are ready to bid them saile home againe already. For my owne part greater disapoyntments I never met with, having had noe provision allowed me in 10 weeks last past, nor above 3 biskets this 14 weeks, soe that all I can rape and scrape in ready money goes to housekeeping, and the shifts I make are not to be written heer. Wee have lost halfe our armie from our first landing on Spaniola, when we were 8000, besides 1000 or more seamen in armes. Never did my eyes see such a sickly time, nor soe many funerals, and graves all the towne over that it is a very Golgotha. Wee have a sevanno or plaine neere us where some of the souldiery are buried soe shallow that the Spanish doggs, which lurke about the towne, scrape them up and eate them. As for English doggs they are most eaten by our souldiery ; not one walkes the streets that is not shott at, unlesse well befreinded or respected. Wee have not onely eaten all the cattle within neare 12 miles of the place, but now alsoe almost all the horse, asses, mules flesh neere us, soe that I shall hold little Eastcheap in more esteeme then the whole Indies if this trade last, and I can give nor learne noe reason that it should not heer continue soe ; besides this wee expect noe pay heere, nor hardly at home now, but perhapps some ragged land at the best, and that but by the by spoken of, for us generall officers not a word mentioned. I could dwell long upon this subject, and could tell you that still halfe our armie lyes sick and helpelesse, nor had wee victuals for them before this fleet, nor expect ought now save some bread, and brandy, and oatmeal, and if that with phisick will not keepe them alive, wee have noe other remedie but death for them. For my owne part in 25 yeares have not I endured soe much sicknesse as heere with the bloudy flux, rhume, ague, feavor, soe that I desire earnesly to goe for England in March next, if permitted, for I am fallen away 5 inches about.

Amongst the dead persons your brother J. M. is one, who died of the dropsie, consumption, and other complicated diseases, the 22 of August 1655 last &c.

Wee lately with 120 men and 12 frigotts tooke the towne of St. Martha on the Terra firma, where were 2 castles contayning 32 peice of ordnance, out of which wee beat the enemie by our ordnance, upon which the townes-men flying, our men presently landed and tooke the place with all therein, after an houre and halfes skirmish, and 8 men lost on our part. The towne and country, which we enjoyed 14 dayes,

was farr before this. They report ¾ of the plunder went to the State, being all sold publiquely, att which the souldiers grudg exeedingly, and I wish it spoile not the whole designe ; neither have wee the liberty to transport those hides whereof we kill the beasts, whereby our men are wont to throw away the hides that they stink up and downe the towne. Our men demanded 20000 R. of 8 to randsome the place, which the enemie promised to give, but coming not at his time wee fired the place, Churches and all.

APPENDIX E

Extracts from Henry Whistler's Journal of the West India Expedition

[Whistler's Journal is in the British Museum. 'Sloane MS.' 3926. It was used by Granville Penn in the 'Memorials of Sir William Penn,' where (ii. 31) the account of the landing at Jamaica is quoted. Much of the journal consists of an account of the voyage, which, as full accounts are printed in the 'Memorials' and in the 'Thurloe State Papers,' is not of sufficient interest to be reprinted. Accordingly only the account of the sailing of the fleet and the narrative of events from the time of the arrival of the expedition at Barbadoes to the departure of Penn from Jamaica are here extracted.]

December, 1654.—A Jornal of a Voaidg from Stokes Bay : and Intended by Gods assistant for the West Inga, and performed by the Right Honorable Generall Penn, Admirall, as folowes : Taken by Mr. Henry Whistler. 1654.

The 26th Day.—Tusday. This day our Generall commanded a gun to be fiered for all the flete to waie Anchor : and all our seamen to worne them to repaier abord : But many made it to be a worning for them to hid vntell we ware gon. This wose a sad day with our maryed men, they hanging doune thaier heads with a demuer countinanc, acting loath to depart, and sume of them profesing more love the one to the other in one halfe our then they had performed in all the time of thayer being together. And many of our yong men that had intangelled them selues in loue with sum yong virgin : Whoe think it verie hard and a great cruelltie to leaue a yong virgin to whome hee hath ingaidged and whollie devoted his hart : others war weping, and leauing and bequeathing vnto them sume pledg of thayer wanton loue ; receaveing from them sume Cordiall against sea sicknis : as Capes, and Handcerchifes, and shertes, to eye and ware when Neptune should most appose them. Att 2 of the cloke in the afternoune all our flet got vnder sayle, the wind att E. N. E. and Blouc fresh, wee plied to the

North shore, and wee Rune aground vpon the Taile of the horse, which doth lay to the Estward of Souse Castell, wee claped all our sayles abackstares, and in one half glas Baked her of. The Swiftshor and Paragon and Dover and our kech and hoy went out att Sant Ellings, But the rest of our flet went out at the Nedelles. In the Euning full of smalle Raine : Att midnight the wind veard att S. S. E. a faier galle.

The 29th Day [of January] 1654.—Munday att 12 we came vp with the land, and coming to an Ankor in Carlile Bay, where we found our Rare Admirall and his Squadoren nulie come to an ancker, in this Bay wee found many of our Marchant shipes, and eleuen sayle of holenders: the which wee mad pris of. Heare as soune as we came to an ancker many Boates came of to vs, with many of the chefe of the Illand, whoue did profes that wee ware very wellcom, and that as soune as we came ashore we should find it soe, wee telling them that wee ware resolued to trie them.

The 30th Day [of January] 1654.—This Day our Generall and Generall Venable and Commishener Winslow went ashore, whar they war receaued with much seuillitie ; they went to the Gouernors whar they sate in Councill about the Raising of souldgers, and within 5 days it was agreed vp[on], and Commishons Granted to the Commanders to raise them.

February the 5th 1654.—This Day it wos Ordord that the Mastton More and Selby should goe to St. Cristofers to raise a 1000 men against wee came doune : Comrs Butler and Liftn Corll. Houldup and Capt. Blye were ordered for this Desine, and the 6th day they depar[t]ed from this Illand.

The 9th Day 1654.—This day the Douer broght in a pris : in all the time of our being in this harber wee took in all 16 sayle of Holenders. From this day to the 31th of March we lay att the Barbadous raising of soulders and fitting our Shipes, the which Being don, and all our Soulders shiped of, the Generall commanded that a gune should be fiered and our fore top sayle loosed to give the flet worning of our intending to be gon, and to worne all persons to repayer abord.

This Island is one of the Riches Spotes of ground in the wordell and fully inhabited. But ware the pepell sutabell to the Illand it ware not to be compared : it is a most rich soile, all wayes Grone and baring frut, and the Chefest commoditie is sugar, and some Indieco, and Cotaine, and tobacoe, but the chefest commodiete they now plant is Shuger and Cottaine. heare are many plesant frutes, as pine Apeles, and planting,

and Buanoes, and orindges, and limes, and Custord apeles, and prickeled pears, and many other frutes : thayer Bred is made of Cassador routes, which is the routes of tres, and vntell it be Ground, and then presed all the duse out of it, it is poysson ; but being well ordered it makes good bread : thayer drink is mad of petatoe routes, thay being boyled thay brus them, and put them in Water, and then straine them : and that thay drink : but they must make it to times a day, or els it will be to stall : thes petatos are the chefest of thayer foud : speeially for thayer saruants : heare are routes they call yames which they make yous insted of flower : as for flesh heare is not much, but sume of all sortes : but the best flesh is Porke, and that is far better then our English porke. The genterey heare doth liue far better then ours doue in England : thay haue most of them 100 or 2 or 3 of slaues apes whou they command as they pleas : hear they may say what they haue is thayer oune : and they haue that Libertie of contiene which wee soe long haue in England foght for : But they doue abus it. This Island is inhabited with all sortes : with English, french, Duch, Scotes, Irish, Spaniards thay being Iues : with Ingones and miserabell Negors borne to perpetuall slauery thay and thayer seed : thes Negors they doue alow as many wifes as thay will haue, sume will haue 3 or 4, according as they find thayer bodie abell : our English heare doth think a negor child the first day it is born to be worth 05li, they cost them noething the bringing vp, they goe all ways naked : some planters will haue 30 more or les about 4 or 5 years ould : they sele them from one to the other as we doue shepe. This Illand is the Dunghill wharone England doth cast forth its rubidg : Rodgs and hors and such like peopel are those which are gennerally Broght heare. A rodge in England will hardly make a cheater heare : a Baud brought ouer puts one a demuor comportment, a whore if hansume makes a wife for sume rich planter. But in plaine the Illand of it selfe is very delightfull and plesant : it is manuered the best of any Illand in the Inges, with many braue houses, and heare is a braue harbor for ships to Rid in. The Illand is but small : but it maintains more soules then any peese of land of the bignis in the wordell. It is but a littell more then 30 mills long and and aleuen milles Brod, and it dose ffrayt aboue a hundered sayle of ships a year with Commodites of the growth of the Illand. This Illand may be much improued if they can bring theyer desine of wine mills to perfecktion to grind theyer Shugor, for the mills they now vs destroy so

many horses that it begors the planters, a good hors for the mill being worth 50li starling mony. The peepell haue a very Generus fashon that if one come to a hous to inquier the way to any plase they will macke him drinke, and if the trafeller dose denie to stay to drinke they tacke it very vnkindly of him.

Aprill the first 1655.[1]—This day att 12 wee wayed Anchor and att 3 got forthe of the Harbor : wee stand away W. and keping this shore clos abord all Night : faier wethier and the wind att Et. & E. by N.

The 2d Day 1655.—Sabath day.[2] This moring one of our prises spent her Maine Mast and fore Mast, and the Dover toulk her in a toe : this day the flag was put abroad to call all Commanders aboard to receaue orders : at 3 a cloke we stand away S. E. by E. intending to tach att the Illand Sat Lussca : this afternoune two of our prises fell foule one of ye other : and that which came abord of the other did teare the others sayles frome her yards, she fiered three gunes for help, which wose sent presenly : fayer wether and the wind at E. N. E.

The 3 day 1655.—Munday from the day before att 12 to this day att 12 we sayled Leages, Cours W. N. W. This morning att 9 wee saw land, and about 10 we came vp with it, it beeing the Illand of Sat Lucca ; this Illand wose inhabited by our Inglish, but thay ware cut ofe by the Indgons and sume ffrench, soe that now thare is noe inhabitant, att this plas wee came to anckor and watered : att this plas our Gennerall and Gennerall Venables went ashore, and wee that war with them had fouling peces with us : heare wee found very braue game of pelicans and other large foules : heare is many Wild cattell and much foule : vpon this Illand are many great snakes : heare are many parates : as you ride in this woad you may see Martainaeco : hear is and are manie braue harbors and rods about this Illand : in the south side neare the midell of this Illand is a very braue road whare many sayle of shipes may ride in 50 fatham water, or les as you goe nearer the shore : heare within this road is a braue harbor that is land loced, and the shoules water is 14 fadham, heare 30 sayle of ships may ride out of sight of any shipes that pas by it : heare are fresh riuers : water afele [?] : heare wee cote much fish and of very straing faisone.

The 4th Day 1655.—Tusday : frome the day before at 12 to this day att 12 We rid in the aforesaid Road mending what was toren the

[1] Should be March 31. See *Memorials of Sir William Penn*, ii. 76.

[2] Really April 1.

Sabath before : and filling of water ; att 10 this moring it blou a fresh gale and sume raine : the wind att E. by W.

The 5th Day 1655.—Wensday : At 1 a cloke the day before we wayed Ankor and stud away N. with a fresh gale att E. N. E., and as soune as we came about this Illand we came faier in sight of Martaineneco, and att 6 att night we came clos abord the shore, it is very high Land and full of mountaines. This Illand is inhabited with Ingons and french : thay liue very comfortably together, and doue mary the one the other very often. Att 5 this moring wee came in sight of Domineco, and att 10 this moring wee came vp with it. This Illand is the Highest of the 3 : hear are none but Ingones : and it is a very frutfull Illand : heare we lay beecalmed from 9 this moring to 12.

The 5th Day 1655.—Thursday :[1] Att one the day before came of to vs a periago with 14 Ingons, they haueing all boes and arrowes, and one of our shipes commanding them to come abord they let flie a whole flight of arowes at our men as they stud vpon the ship sid, and wounded 5 men, and soe rune away frome vs, thayer bot going to swift for any shipp. From 12 the day before to 8 att night wee lay becalmed before the aforesaid Iland of Dominica : and att daylight this moring wee ware within a leag of the Esternmost Ind of Gordalupa. It being inhabited with french : they fiered to gonnes : wee supposing it was to give an alarom to the Contary. This is a very high Land and full of mountaines. It is a braue frutfull Iland : heare is a very good harbor for shippes. This Iland doth yeld Shugor, and tobacco, and Cottaine, and Indiccoe : heare wee lay beecalmed.

The 6th Day 1655.—Friday : this moring we cam vp with Marigalanta, and in sight of Todosanto : att this time In sight Mountserrat : and Rodundos : this Iland is a meare Rock and noe Inhabitants : faier wether and the Wind East.

The 7th Day 1655. —Saterday : att 5 this moring we came in sight of Neuis : it bore N. of vs, 6 leags distanc : att 7 in sight of S^t^ Christofers : it bore N. B. W. of vs, 7 leags distanc : att 10 close abord of Neuis, this Iland afordes the pleasantest prosspect to the sea of any that I haue it sene : it afordes the same Commodietes as the others doth : heare are 4 fortes in the South sid of the Iland, and a very Gallant Road and Harbor vnder Command for shippes to rid in : all theas fortes did sallut vs, and the shippes in the harbor : wee

[1] At this point Whistler corrects his reckoning.

retorned 5 gunes in thankes to them : wee sent a small vessell ashore heare for refreshment : and we stud for St. Cristofers : and att 11 aclok came vp with the North part of the Iland which is inhabited with the French : all thayer fortes and Shipping in the Harbor did salute vs with many Gunes : wee retorning them 5 gunes in thankes : wee stud away for our English harbor. But att 12 a cloke Comm^r Butler came abord from the shore to the Gennerall, whoue gaue account of 15 sayle of shipes that they had taken sence thayer coming heare, and that they had raisded 1000 souldiers which were redie shipped, he all soe tould the Gennerall of 15 sayle of Spanish shipes that had pased by Iland 3 weekes agoe : the Comm^r. departed, and went ashore to hasten of those shippes to vs and all parssons that ware as itt ashore : for our Gennerall did resolue not to come to Anchor heare att all. Wee Brought our ship by the lee, and droue before the part of the Iland which our English doth inhabit : and at 3 aclok came before the harbor whar the Moston Mor & the Selby were riding with thayer prises, the shipes made all hast of to vs : the English Gouernor was sick, or at least pretended soe, his Agent came of to the Genneralles to plead his excqus. But the Generalls finding not all things to goe well in this Iland, which did cas much bisnis. But att 11 acloke all wos dispached, and wee mad sayle : littell Wind att East. This is a very Gallant Iland : Baring the same Commodieties as the afore mentioned Islands doth : heare are the Best Orringes that wee haue it met with all. Our English haue one part of this Iland and the french the other part : and as long as they could get any thing the one of the other they ware att wors, but now liue very peessibell together : the one is not to come into the others ground without Leaue : Heare is a small Dich which part them, but it is all wayes drie. Wee lay bee calmed before this Iland all night.

The 8^th^ *Day* 1655.—Sabath day : this Moring wee ware vp with the Iland of Statia : it is a very small Iland inhabited with the Duch : att acloke wee came vp with the Iland of Saba : heare is noe inhabitants, for it is small and full of rockes : heare we lay becalmed all Night.

The 9^th^ *Day* 1655.– Monday : this day all the Land Commanders ware caled abord of vs to a Counsell : thayer Gennerall did declare vnto them that Hyspanola was the plas resolued vpon : and that the River Hina was the plase of Landing : thay all departed, and wee made all the sayle wee could, it being littell wind at E. N. E.

The 10^th^ *Day* 1655.—Tusday : this moring all our Land Offisers

ware caled abord againe : to whome Comm^r Winslow did declare that in thayer Instructions from my Lord Protector there wos one Articell that noe Souldeger should plunder any plas that they should take, vpon paine of death, and that all plunder or goods that shall be taken att any place shall be put into a publick store for the caring one of the Desine, and for the souldgers encoraidgment when they had taken this Iland they should have six wekes pay a man : But if any shall kepe ether goods or plat or mony in thayer hands aboue 3 dayes, and not bring it in to the publicke stor hous for the yous of my lord protector, they should be proseded against as felons. This put all the Commanders into a Great pashon : and thos that durst did fullie declare vnto the to Genneralls and the Comm^rs, that had not me Lord Protector promisd them and thayer Soulders free plunder whare soeur thay did goe, thay would not haue come out of England, and further tould them that thay had promised thayer souldgers for to incoraidg them to come with them all which me lord Protector did promis them : and that wose that thay should haue free plunder in all ennimies Contarys which they came in, and that now they could not with honestie now depriue them of it : It being allways thayer due : and that in all the wors in England thay had it : and this being a forraine wor they thoght not Iust to depriue the souldgers of it. The Comm^rs. made Anisware to them, that seing my Lord Protector had put it thayer Instructions they could not disanull itt : the Officers departed saying that they did desier them to take itt into furder consideration, and not to disincoridge the soulders, for by that means thay never might ataine to what thay Intended : this did put a great distraction among vs all both seamen and souldgers. Now both our Genneralls and Gennerall Venables ware willing to doue anything to Incoraidge the souldgers, but Comm^r Winslow would not condesend to anie thing more than to giue them thayer six wekes pay when they had taken this plas. Now when we should haue bin asking the lord to giue vs this place : Wee insted of that ware asharing the skin before wee had Cached the foxx. Wee ware now in sight of the Iland of St John a Partoreca : one of the Chefest Ilands the Spaniyards haue in all the India, and strongly fortiefied : faier wether and a fresh gale att E^.

The 11^th^ *Day* 1655.—Wensday : this day our gennerall did send the Grantham frigat into St. John a Portoreca ; ordoring them to ware a spanish Ensine one their poupe, and to goe into the rode, and to hal up thayer sayles, and fier a gun, for that is the sine when any of thayer

owne ships doth com home for a pilat to come ofe to them to carie them in, and by this trick wee did hop to get a pilat of, and soe to carrie him with vs, and to make him giue vs intelligence of the state of the Iland. But the Grantham ffrigatt could not gett a pilat to come of to her, But came to vs againe. This day wose in debat againe about the plunder, But nothing wos granted. This night wee came in sight of Mona, an Iland that doth lie in sight of Hispanola ; faier wether and a fresh gale of wind att E^{t}.

The 12th *Day* 1655.—Thursday : this moring att 5 aclok wee came in sight of Hispanola, this being the obect our Eies haue soe long desiored to see. This daye as neare as wee could wee kept out of sight of the ennimie, and in the Night got clos abord the shore : faier wether and the wind att E^{t}.

The 13th *Day* 1655.—Fridaye : this moring wee ware close abord the shore, and the Peopell being pursesed with teror with the sight of our flett, and seting one fier all thayer Becons to call in all the inhabitance into the sittie ; att this time it wose not resolued vpon whether the souldgers should haue plunder or noe ; but att last it wos resolued that euery soulder should haue six wekes pay giuen them at the day when they haue taken this Iland, but vpon paine of death noe plunder : this wos to be proclaimed att the head of eury Redgment when thay ware landed. Now when wee ware in sight of the enimie, and all being redie to goe ashore, Gennerall Venables did desier that all his commanders should be called abord, that he might furder counsell with them, his desier wose fulfiled, all thof it wose now a very vnseasonall time, for it now wose time to haue bin landing of our Armie. Now the Sittie of St. Domingo to vs most plesant did apear : But att the first sight of this Sittie our Gennerall Commanded the Vice Admirall and the Rar Admirall with thayer Squadorens to fier ech of them a gun, for to giue thayer Squadorens worning to folow them, and soe to stand to luard to the place apoynted for Landing, it being 10 Leags from the Sittie to luard. This order was obsarued as soune as they sae the Sittie : all the Souldger wose abord of theos shipes : exspt to Redgment, and those ware abord of our Squaderen, and they war to stay with vs, and to be landed att another place : the Vice Admirall and Rar Admirall and thayer Squaderen Mad sayl, and stud away to Luard, But wee stud in vnder command of the Sittie to see the situation of itt. But the fortes and Castell kep firring att vs, wee paying them

3 fould, vntell att last they were contented to Lett vs come within shot of them, and louck vpon them, and not to shout att vs.

Att night wee stud of to sea, and plied vp to Windard and with a fresh Bres of the shore.

The 14*th Day* 1655.—Saturdaye : this moring all of thos souldgers that went to luard ware landed in good order, none to molest them, and as soune as thay were droue vp in order, att the head of euery redgment the orders were red for not plundering, which did much discontent the Armie, but thay could not tell how to healp it : But the sea ridgment did with droe from the rest saying, What doue wee doue heare, shall we venter our liues for nothing ? But by thayer Commanders desiering them thay went one with chearfullnis. This daye the Armie did March 5 miles, and Incamped that Night : all this day wee stud to and fro with our flete before the Sittie.

The 15*th Day* 1655.—Sabath daye : this day our Armie Marched 12 mile, But the drouth for want of water and the heat of the contary did much discoraidg them. This daye in thayer march thay mett with many Houses and plantation : But the inhabitans all fled into the Sittie, exsept one or to Spaniards that ware eaten out with the pox and could not goe. This day they met with a monestorie, but all the Ballpated friors ware gone, But thay lef all thayer Imedges behind them, sum of our souldgers found plate hear : and one among the rest touck the Virgin Mary vpon his head, and brought her among the Armie, she wase most richlie clad : But the souldgers did fall a flinging of orringes att her, and did sodainelly deforme her, she had Crist in her armes, both thees Immadgs ware very rich. Our souldgers did get a great deale of suger att the plantations : But the heat and want of water did cose many to faint and die by the way, but thay tuk all the care they could, and got wild Horses to carrie the sick. This Night the Armie did in camp at a plantation halfe way betweene the place of Landing and the Toune. But our flet did kep vnder sayle before the Cittie, as if wee would haue rune into the Harbor, which they much feared.

The 16*th Day* 1655.—Munday : This moring att 5 aclok we begun to land Coll : Buller and Coll : Houldup and thayer Ridgmentes att the Riuer Hina, whar thar is a small fort which formerly had 4 gunes in it but now but 2 : heare wase both Hors and fut, But the Gennerall ordered the Selby to fier sume gunes into the fort, which did make them flee

out of it : it being to h[ot] for them : soe that we landed our men without any resistanc, and about 12 aclok all wos landed. Our Gennerall ordered Coll. Buller not to march aboue a mile att the fardest, and thar to lay vntell the Armie did come to them : But as soun march but came to them a Neagor from the ennimie which had formerly liued with our English, which did giue them great incoridgement of the ennemies vnabillitie to fight them : and that he would show them the way : this did soe much In coridge Co[ll]. Buler that he forgot what orders he had receaued from our gennerall, and did folow the Negor. Now I shall leaue this parttie and return to the Armie, whow this moring erly did begin to march, and not one ouer after that Co[ll] Buller and his parttie wose marched from the aforesaid Riuer Hina but the Armie came to it : and thar did intend to in camp this Night. Wee sent botes ashore to them, But they had hardlie droue vp the Armie in order before nuse was broght that Co[ll]. Buller and his partie were ingaiged. Now Gennerall Venable did not know what to doue in this case, for thay wose much tiered with thayer march, and ware not abill to march noe furder that night, but att last thay did resolue to Hazard the loss of that partie, and to rest the armie this night heare. Now our Rar Admirall and his Squadoren did ride in this Bay, to whom our Gennerall gaue orders that he should order to all his Squaderen to boyle all the meat they could this Night, and to send it ashor to the Armie to carrie with them. Now a messenger came from Co[ll]. Buler that did declare that this wose a false alaram that thay had : to of thayer owne parties meting did fier one att the other and hurt 4 men, and that wose all. But as for Co[ll]. Buller and his partie was one the march for the Cittie, and about aclok in the afternoune he came vp with a fort of the ennimies cald fort Ieroname : this fort did fier many gunes att them, but thay not regarding of them did march for the Sittie, and [met] with a partie of the ennimee betwene this fort and the Cittie, fel vp one them, and put them to the rout, and folowed them near the Cittie wolles. But Co[ll]. Buler Remembering that he had noe orders for what he did : did not prosed furder, but In Camped in the wodes this night near the Cittie. Wee lay all this time before the Cittie with our shiping, sume times sending them a bullet to put them in remembrance of vs.

The 17*th Day* 1655.—Tusdaye : This moring erly prouisions wose sent ashore to the Armie and Ammunicion, and att 10 aclok thay bee gun to march. But Co[ll]. Buller and his partie, wanting orders and

being almost choked for want of drink, did resolue to retreat backe againe, and to met the Armie, and soe did. But the Armie haueing not good pilates with them that did know the way, and fearing that they could not forde the riuer neare the sea side, did goe a great way furder then they had ned to haue don, which did much tier theyer men ; about 2 aclock they tuck an Irrish man that did liue in the Cittie, and demanding of him whar there wose anie water, he tould them that he would bring them whar thar wose water, and they being much joyed to hear of it, for many did faint for want of watter. Now all our Armie did folow this Irish man, and marcing carlislie, they haueing a very strong pursumption in them that thayer innimie durst not face them, but all thay thoght they had to doue wose to March into the Cittie thar to inhabit. But this pursumption wose sodainelie turned into a great teror, for this Irish man insted of bring them whar water wose, broght them open with one of thayer fortes before thay did see it : this fort did fier verie fast vpone our Armie. But Gennerall Venables coming vp to the head of our armie to viue this fort, Thar did flie forth of the wods a partie of the Innimie which did lay in ambush vpon our folorne, and did doue a great deale spoyle vpon our folorne ; and Gennerall Venabeles being one of the foremost, and seeing the ennemie fall one soe desperatly with thayer Lances, he very nobelly rune behinde a tree ; and ouer sea Ridgment hauing this day the folorn hop did fall one most galantlie, and put the ennimie to flie for thayer liues, and coming whar Gennerall Venabeles wos got behind a tree he came forth to them. But wose very much ashamed, but made many exskuces : being soe much prosesed with teror that he could hardlie spake. Our falorne did folow the ennemie clos, killing sume of them, vntell they came to one of thayer fortes, but as soune as the ennimi did see our men come one so fast thay fled out of the fort, and rune for the Cittie : this small fort is within one quarter of a mile of the Cittie. Now all the Commanders did doue all thay could to stop the Armie which wose don : becase of droing vp of the Armie before thay came in sight of the Cittie. Now Gennerall Venabeles did desier that a Counsell of war might be called, which wos den : all the Colls and Cap^s did come emediatlie to it, whar Gennerall Venabele did declar vnto them that it wos his opinion that it wose best for the Armie for to retorne againe to Riuer Hina, thar to refresh themselues 2 or 3 dayes, and then to march vp to the Cittie againe. But Maidgor Gennerall Haines and

all the others that ware at the Counsell of wor ware against it, giuing this Reson, saing if wee doue goe back wee shall giue the ennemie oprtunitie of douing vs furdor mischef, and time to fit themselues, and when wee doue goe back wee shall be as much tiored as wee are now when we com againe, saying tharfore thay did desier to fal vpon the Cittie, and not to goe Back. But Gennerall Venabeles made this Aneswar, saing that he had sene to rames a fighting, and after thayer first goeing back they came vp with a great deal more fors the second time then they did the first, and this wos all the reson hee did giue, nether would heare to anything more then to retreat back againe to Hine Riuer. Now seing thay could not preuaile with the Gen[ll]. not to goe back but to fall vpon Cittie : they begun to dro of the Armie to march back. In this broyle the ennemie had a very great aduantagd, for the way wase soe narow that not aboue 10 men att the most could march abrist, and all our Armie think[ing] themselues in securitie war in a bad postuor : the ennimie did kill one of our Adgitants Genneralls named Waters, and to Cap[ts]., with many Gallant soulgers. The ennimie doth yous most Lances, which is a most desperate wepon, they are very sharp, and soe brod that if they strik in the bodie it makes such a larg hole that it lettes the breth out of the bodie emediatlie. This March back againe did kill more men then the ennemie did, for thay did faint and fall doune for wand of water : sum would beg of thayer comrades to make water in thayer [mouths], which if any did most of them did ris and march. But many did die by the Way for want of water, one quart would haue saued many liues : this night they got back againe to the Riuer Hina, and thar did In Camp.

The 18*th Day* 1655.—Wensdaye : this moring Gennerall Venabeles came abord of vs to his Ladie, and left his Armie to louck to themselues : he desired that the mortopeece should be landed, and to small Drakes, and that sume Carppenters should be sent ashore to make laders : all wos dun acording to his desier. Our Gennerall Comanded all the Rare Admiralls Squaderen to boyle meat all day and Night for the Armie, and to send Brandie ashore and Bred, and this to Harten the Armie, which wose done acording to order. Now did Begin our sorow, for our souldgers would goe to kill wild cattill, and the ennime would lay in the Bushes, and as they came by them would fall vpon them with thayer Lances, and kill and spoile all or most of them. But for all that thay would ventor to doue it out for frut and to plunder, but

most of them come short home : the innimie would neurer fier a musket att our men, but fall vpon them vnwers, and Lance them thorow and throrow ; the stafe of thes lances are longer then a halfe picke. Hear are a sort of Vagabons that are saued from the gallowes in Spaine and the king doth send them heare : Thes goe by the name of Cow killers, and inded it is thayer trad, for thay liue by killing of Cattille for the hides and talow : Thes are those that doth doue all the mischefe, and hear are Negors and Molatos which are thayer slaues : to thes thay did proclaim fredom if they would fight, telling them that if they would not fight that we would take and eate them as fast as wee take them, and this did greatly incoridg them to fight. If it were not for theas Cowkillers and the Negors the spaniyards ware not abell to hould vp his hand against any ennemie, for the spaniyards are soe roten with the pox and soe lothegic that they cannot goe 2 mile but they are redie to die. But to thos spanards that durst ventor to command thes Nigors and cow killers, to theas the pop doth giue a bull, which is a parden for all [sins] past and to come, and many that our men did take had thayer parden hanging about thayer neckes ; theas men will fight with great confidence, and doue belefe that if they die all dies, for they are partened : and when you fier at them they will fall doun vpon thayer right knee, and when you haue fiered them thay will come one most desperate. But if you kep them out, then thay flie for it : but if thay come within you, then stand cleare.

The 19*th Day* 1655.—Thursday : this day the Mortopece and the Drakes were landed, and all things pertaing to it : the laders ware all redie, and all Ammonishon landed redie to march. But Gennerall Venabelles, Being abord of our ship, and haueing a good ship vnder him and his wife to lie by his side, did not fele the hardship of the Souldgers that did lie one the sand vntell the Raine did waish it from vnder them, and hauing littell or noe vitelles, and nothing to drink but water. But the Gennerall did not consider that, But resolued to stay 2 or 3 dayes more, pretending to refresh them, but the lieing heare did doue the armie more hurt then thayer marching, ffor the fresh meat, and the abundant of frut that they did eate, and lieing in the raine did case most of them to haue the Bluddie-flux, and now thayer harts wore got out of thayer Dublates into thayer Breches, and wos nothing but Shiting, for thay wose in a uery sad condichon, 50 or 60 stouls in a day, and thous that had it but 1 or 2 dayes it mad them soe weake that

they ware not abell to goe. Now the Souldgers did begin to Murmur at the Gennerall liing abord with his ladie, and keping them ashore in this sad condichone.

The 20*th Day* 1655.—Friday : This day the Spanniyard thinking that we had Bin going to shipeing of all of our souldgers to be gon, thay sent a partie to see what wose become of vs ; and thay comeing within pistole shot of our maine garde before any of our men did see them, and sume of our men being in the bushes a sharing of thayer vitelles, the Innimie fell one them, and they crieing out for quarter did giue an alaram to the Armie ; and wee hauing a partie redie to droe out Commanded by Capt. Steuens, and he being gredie of fighting them did run to meet the ennimie, did hardlie stay to take any men, and coming whar the innimie wose, as soune as he that did Command the ennimies partie did see our parttie he did alight from of his hors, and led one his parttie afut, with a backe sord and targat in his handes, and Capt Steuens coming vp with him did lay at him, but the Spanniard did gard with his targat, and strike with his back sord, and att last wounded Steuens and he fell, but his Liftenant did close with the spaniard, and struck vp his heles, and ran him throrow, and his men folowing him close a made the ennimie to rune, killing 30 of them, they being most of them Negors : they did friten many that did think that thay would not fight but a rune from thayer houses and lands and left them to inhabit it, but thay now find it other wayes. This day Gennerall Venabeles doth intend to goe ashore to his Armie, and our Gennerall did tell Genll. Venabeles, that if he would think well of itt, he would send 2 or 3 shipes to beat doun that fort which did afront them the last time : he made anisware noe, saying it would spoule the fort, and he should not tell how to haue it mended againe, for he did intend to lett this fort alone, and goe to the Cittie and take it, and then this fort would yeld : and our Gennerall furdor tould him that he would haue sume shipes to Bator the Cittie as soune as the Armie did come before it, but Gennerall Venabeles wose loft that the Cittie should be defased : our Gennerall tould him that he would order sum shipes to fill water, and bring it within a quarter of a mille of the Cittie, and thar to Aencker, and be redie to land it when thay should make a sine : this Genll. Venabeles did think verie well of, and soe he did depat, But could not part with his ladie, but did carrie her with him, but he did not goe any farder then abord our Rar Admirall, and thar did lay all night with his Ladie.

The 21st Day 1655.—Saterdaye : This Moring Gennerall Venabeles went ashor, and the Armie did begin to march touward the Cittie, droing thayer Mortorpece and the to Drakes and all thayer Ammonishon with men.[1] Now wee mad all redie to land prouishons and water among other nessisaryes for the Armie when they did come vp to the Cittie ; our Gennerall did order 5 ffrigates to make all redie, and as soune as the Armie did come to besedge the Cittie they ware to stand into the harbor and Battor the Cittie, soe that they should bee att noe quet at no place in the Cittie. Now all our flete did ride att an ancor within Minnon shot of the shore : and the Cittie and fort Ieronnieme did both play att vs with thayer gunes, but they did most times sheut ouer vs, wee paying them in the same Coine. Att 2 acloke our Armie came before this fort againe, and haueing thayer eis all together vpon this fort, and not garding themselues from any Ambush that might lie for them, for all they met with one hear the time before, but kep marching one lucking vpon this fort, not fearing any other ennimie but those that ware in It. But the ennimie had laid an Ambush lad clos by the way which our men ware to come thorow : now as soune as our falorne wose come vp with the place whar this ambushcado lay, thay did flie out of the wode vpon our falorne hop. But our falorne did fier att them all att one, and the ennemie did stoup vntell thay had all shot, and then fell in amongst our armie with thayer Lances, and put our falorne to the rout. But Maidgor Gennerall Haines, being of a more Nobell Spirit then the rest, did desier our men to stand, but none would ; then he did desier but to filles to stand bie him, teling them that he would worent they would rout them, but none would ; then he by himselfe caling for 10 or 5 men to stand by him, But none but 3 would stand with him, and the Maidgor Gennerall Burieing his Raper in the Bouelles of one of the ennemies, and the other to stayers the ennemie Lancing them thorow and thorow, thay all 3 fell. But the ennemie kep pursueing our Armie in the Reare, Lancing and killing our men as long as tell thay ware all most awery, for the way wose soe narrow that those that would haue fote could not come vp. But att Last the Seae Ridgment did oppen to the Right and left, and lett all our Armie run thorow them, and then closed, and put the ennemie to retreat, and mad them flie for the Cittie ; now for all this our Armie would not belefe but

[1] This march began on Tuesday, April 24, and the defeat described was on Wednesday, the 25th.

that the ennimie wos in the Reare, and kep runing, but att last they did stop, and did march vp, and came to the place whar the Sea Ridgment had made good the Ground, which wose within shot of the fort playing vpon them cruellie ; heare the Armie did incamp all this night : and the Sea Ridgmen did fling vp a worke to play the Mortopec into this fort as neare as the Ingonnear did desier, and all wose made redie to play the Mortorpece into the fort ; all men did think that they should haue stormed this fort in the morning. But Gennerall Venabeles being more pursesed with teror and feare now his Major Gennerall was slaine then he wos before when he did hid behind a tree : Now the Armie did wont water. But Gen^{ll}. Venabeles did neuer declare vnto the armie that the flett did lay within a quarter of a mile of them with all sorts of provisons and water, which would haue greatlie In coraidged the Armie : But erly in the moring cosed the drumes to beat, and all the souldgers made redie thinking that thay had bin agoing to fall one vpon this fort, but the Gen^{ll} commanded them to Burie the shelles of the Mortorpece and the ded men, and soe to march back for Riuer Hina. Now many did curs inwardlie which durst not show it outardlie. All this day our flet did lie waiting to see when the Armie come for the Cittie that we might haue bin tearing the Cittie with our shiping. But att last word wose Broght that the Armie wos come back againe, which struck all in a damp swet of freating : all of vs seeing what did pas betwene our men and the innimie, and knowing that thar did nothing pas betweene them that could cose them to stay one our, but that they might haue advanced to the Cittie : which made vs that we could not belefe that they wore come back, but it did proue to be true. Now in this march and skirmish did die and wose slaine and wounded att least 1000 men : and most of them war wound in the back with a lanc ; for none, exsept the Maidgor Gennerall and those to that stood with him, that did face the ennimie But did scape, for thay would lett them alone and folow thos that did rune. Now wee did aske them how many they did think the ennimie wose that lay in the Ambush : thay tould vs with shame that thar could not bee aboue 200 att the most, if thar wose soe many. Now our Gennerall and Comm^{rs}. Winslow and Comm^{rs} Butler did Resolue to see if thay could gett them to march vp once more, and to giue the armie sumething for to Incoraidg them : But as soune as thay made it knowen to Gennerall Venabeles he made them this anser, that it wose in vaine to talk any fourder of it, for he did

resolue not to goe any more : But If our Gennerall would ship the armie againe, and carrie them for Iamanica, thay would do all that thay could to tacke it, But as for this place thay did resolue never to atemp more this Bout. Our Gennerall did yous all the means possibell he could to proswad them to trie once mor, telling them that he would lay all leuill for them against they came with the shiping, and many of the Commanders did seme willing to goe againe with a partie of men which should be picked out of the Armie. But Gennerall Venabeles would not yeld to It. Now our Gennerall being much ashamed of thayer basnis, but not soe much as thay ware themselues, did tell them that ware it not for the sakes of sume that ware with them, he would set sayle and leaue them : seeing thay ware so bace to desier to come of from this Gallant Illand, and to leaue it with soe much shame and disgrace not onlie to themselues But to the Nation : he would one more take them abord. But he tould them they must shift for vitelles ashor vntell our shipes had got in water and ware fited, telling them that he had tuck care to fede them long anufe all redie, anow they were in a contary whar all things ware plentie, and if thay would not fight for it thay should starue for him, vntell the flete was fited. Now the ennemie had soe much frighened our men in the last skermish that now thay would rather starue then thay would goe out of thayer quarters but one mile, whar they might haue killed as much as thay would, but thay ware soe much afraid of the Cow killers that thay would not budg out, and soe many did starue vpon that account. Now with lieing in the raine and eating bad diat most of the armie fell into Bluddie fluxes, and many did die with that, but more for want of Vitells. Now thay did beegin to eat thayer doges, and if a pore Trouper did tie his hors to a bush but whille he went to eas his bodie, The fut would haue kild him, and halfe rosted him by that time he had don, If he ware not nimbell. This wose our Condichon, theas rates of men would rather starue and die then goe but one mile into the wodes whar thar is thousands of braue cattell. Hear are an abundance of Great Crabes which liue in the wodes, thay all wayes come out of thayer holes in the night to feed, and hear ar such an abundanc that as thay goe thay will hit the ons leges against the other, which will make a rattelling. This nois did giue many an Alaram to our Armie in the night, and when thay came to exsamen what thay ear that gaue this alaram, thay would make ancer thay did heare a nois like the ratling of

Bandaleares, sume of them did lep into the sea for feare that it had abin the Cow killers, and this wose nothing but the Crabes, which ware loucing for thayer meat when our Armie did not dare but did lie and starue. Hear are allso a great flie that the spaniard doth call a fier flie, theas doue flie in the Night, and doue show like a cole of fier : thes did giue our Armie many alaram, for the senttaries would think them to bee the ennimie with light maches, and fier att them. This would give an alaram to all the Armie, and many would run into the wodes for fear it wose the Cow killers and the Nedgors come vpon them.

May the 5th, 1655.—The Armie Being all shiped Wee made sayle and Bore away to luard, Intending for Iameca, and keping close abord this Illand, and Lammenting euery time wee did louck on this Illand, that it should bee saide that wee Englishmen should leaue such an Iland soe baslie as wee did leaue this : Our Gennerall being all most choked for want of venting and telling the Armie of thayer Basnis : But he thoght it wisdom rather to be silant, and to giue them all the Incorraidgment he could, lest thay should doue the like whar we ware goeing : faier wether and the wind att E. wee steard West with a fresh gall of wind.

The 6th Day, 1655.—Satordaye : All this day we kep vnder sayle fayer vnder this Illand haueing a fresh gall of wind att E. Wee steered West.

The 7th Day 1655.—Sabath daye : this moring at 5 wee sae a small vesell plieing to windward ; the Lorill and the Hound gaue her chas but she came soe neare the shore that thay durst not follow her, but gaue of the chas. This day we kep but an easie sayle abroad by reson of keping company with our flet : fayer wether and the wind att East, a fresh gale, wee stud away W^t.

The 8th Day 1655.—Mondaye : this day the Gennerall ordered that all the flet should kep fast to desier the Lord to giue vs his presence along with vs in this our Intended desine. Wee made all the sayle wee could, but soe that wee might kep our flet togethier. This euing Commisenor Winslow died, sume did say that it [was] with grefe, but he had a strong feauer one him when he died : faier wether and the wind att East. Wee steard away Weast.

The 9th Day 1655.—Tusdaye : This moring 9 aclok wee Broght the West Ind of this Iland to bare N. of vs, wee standing away W^t. : Now the Buriall of Commishenor Winslow wos performed as solemly as

might bee att sea, his graue Being the whole oshon sea, his Bodie being put int a cofen, and 2 Cannone shot att his fete, his Corpes being held forth to the sea with ropes ouer the shipes sid redie to louer doune. Command being gaue thay all let goe : our ship gaue him 20 gunes, and our Vic Admirall gaue him 12, and our Rar Admirall 10, and soe wee bed him adue, haueing a fresh galle of wind att E^{t}. This night we sae the Iland of Jamineca, the place now desiered : it bore W^{t}. of vs : wee steard right with it, faier wether all night.

The 10th *Day* 1655.—Wensdaye : this day wee came faier vnder the Shore of Iameca, and all our Armie did prepare to Land ; but the Commanders of the Armie did declare vnto thayer souldgers, that thos which were not willing to fight thay did desier them to stay abord, and many exsept of thayer profer very willinglie ; faier wether and the wind att E.

The 11th *Daye* 1655.—Thursday : from 10 aclok att night to this moi ing wee kep faieor by the shor, and now wee made all the sayle wee could to gett into the Estermust Harbor ; but before we could get in it fell Calme, soe that wee ware forsed to come to an Ancker half a leage to the Estward of the Harbor in 50 fadham water ; but within half an our it sprung vp a fresh galle at E^{t}. Wee waied, and stud into the Harbor, and came to an Anchor in 40 fadham water ; but the Gennerall commanded the Marttaine to rune vp into the Harbor as far as possibell he could, and all the small shipes and vessells to folow her, which was done : the Marttaine came to an Ancor within shot of the fort, which was very angerrie with him, and fiering att her verie hot, and she att them againe, but did but litell hurt of ether side : heare ware 2 other forts of very small account did kep poping att them with Muskettes, thinking to feare vs. Our Gennerall and Gen^{ll}. Venabeles mad all the hast they could vp to the Martaine, and went abord of her, most part of our souldgers lieing round the Martaine in boates redie to Land. Our Gennerall commanded the Boates to folow vs with the men, and commanded the Master to rune the Ship ashor as near as possibell he could to the fort, which was don ; and fiering sume gunes into this fort, and the Boates folowing vs with the Souldgers, our seae men rune the boates fast aground close vnder the fort, and the souldgers Leping into the water to wade ashore. The ennemie seing our resolution did not stand to giue any resistanc, But rune, leauing 3 gunes Mounted. This gaue our Armie great Incoridgment, but our Armie did not folow the

ennimie, but did droe vp in Battalie, and thar resouled to stay vntell thayer Gen[ll]. did come ashor to them : for sume ware much trobelled that he did not Land with them. For all the time that the Armie was landing, he was walking abord of the Martaine, raped vp in his cloake, with his hat ouer his eies, loucking as if he had abin astuding of fissick more then like a Gennerall of an Armie : and when the Armie did come by vs in Boates they did shout forth into a holow, which is a custome att sea, thorowing vp thayer Capes and Hates : But Gennerall Venabeles did not giue them soe much as one Louck for to Incoraidge them, But puled his hat ouer his eies, and did louck the other waye. Many of his commanders did tacke notis of it. But our Gennerall did call to them, giuing them Incoraidgment, teling them that the ennemie did rune. But Gennerall Venabeles seeing the ennimie all fled from thayer fortes, and none thare to apose our Armie, did desier a boat, saying he would goe ashore, and our Gennerall being both redie and willing, knowing his Bisnis to be thar and not heare att this time, gaue command presentlie for a boat to carrie him ashore to the Armie, whar he found them all drone vp ; whar they did resolue to in camp this Night, and to tacke the day before them to march vp to the Toune, It being six mile from the place of landing.

The 12*th Day* 1655.—Friday : This moring erlie our Armie did march for the Toun, and comeing neare it thar met them a spaniard with a flag of truce, and being Broght to the Gennerall, He did declare vnto vs, that the Gouernor and his Counesill did send him to Lett them to vnderstand, that if thar ware anything vpon the Illand that might be seruisabell to vs wee should haue it willingly, Meaning any thing of prouissons, for the ennemie did think wee had come vpon that account as Jacson did with his flete, which was onlie to vitell, and soe be gon againe. But Gennerall Venabeles made the mesendgor this anesware, that if the Gouernor did desier a tretie that they should be free to come, and thay should haue good composichons, the messengor departed, and our Armie marched into the Toune. But the ennemie ware all fled, carrieing all thayer goods with them, Leauing onlie thayer Houses, and some Chayers, and Bedsteds, and such like goods behind them : but thay ware not gon far : for thay ware nulie gon. Our Armie ware desierus for to haue pursued them, but the Gen[ll]. would not giue way to it : But ordered gardes to be seat, and the Armie to tacke vp thayer quarters in the Toune, which was done.

The 13*th Day* 1655.—Satordaye: This moring came into vs 8 spaniards, thay being the Chefe men of the Iland, to treat with vs: and Gennerall Venabeles propounding to them the same Composichons that they gaue our English vpon Providenc, which wos all to goe ofe from the Iland ech with a sute of cloas on his Backe: And to bring in all goods, and all Money and plate, with thayer Negors and all other slaues, into the plas apointed for the receaueing of it within 10 dayes, vpon paine of death, and soe to begon of the Iland. The ennimie hearing of thes Artickelles ware very sad, desiering sume time for to consider of it: and one day being granted them: that being exspiered thayer ancor was requiered: but they defered it tow dayes more, saying that of themselues thay could doue nothing without the Gouernor: and did ingaidg that the Gouornor should come him seluf with in 10 dayes Into vs. But in the meane time the ennimie did daylie send into our Armie a mator of 200 Befes a day, which our armie did like very well, thay Being Contented like swine with peas when pearill laye before them. Now Gen^{ll}. Venabeles wos much pufed vp with the thoughtes of thos termes that the ennimie ware like to sine to, he knowing that it would be much for his aduantaig; for if our Armie did fight, then our souldgers would gett all the plunder and Riches; But if thay did yeld upon Artickles, then all wos in his hands to doue as he did pleas: but this is but our mild thoughts of him: god grant it may not proue a truth inded.

The 16*th Day* 1655.—Tusdaye: This moring erly our Gennerall did ride vp to the Toune with a strong gard to wait one him, for treatie could not be inded vntell he came: heare he did desier to know what thay had done, and what they Intend to doue: and Gennerall Venabeles did declare the full substanc how all things did stand, and what thay had resouled vpon: and our Gennerall did agre to what they had propounded, onlie sume things he cased to be altered. Now the time being neare in which the ennimie had promised to bring in the Gouornor of the Iland to sine the Artickles a partie of 2000 men wose sent to mete him: and goeing about a quarter of a mile out of the toune they met him, and broght him in: he wos carried in a hammacka betwen to Negors upon a pole with to men a horsback to wait one him: But the Gouernor was soe Roten, and soe much eaten out with the pox, that he could neither goe, stand, nor seat, nor well lie; he wos a uery sad creater, the ennimie woas ashamed that wee should see him. Now our Gennerall and Gennerall Venabeles did pres hard to haue the

ennimie to sine the Artickles. But the ennemie did defer it of one day more, and all this time of the treatie we did sufer ye ennimie to com among vs and see the state of our Armie, for which wee were much to blame : for they had more wit then wee had, for they would not sufer any to com among them : but when any of our men did goe to them thay would mete vs, and complement with vs, desiering that thay would not come among thayer maine bodie, for thay did pretend that thayer wifes and children ware soe much afraid of vs, that if any of them should see any of our men among them thay would flie into the woudes soe that thay should not find them. This wos thayer pretence, but wee found it otherwayes : for thay ware caching Horses, and fiting all things for to carrie away thayer goods, and Blinded our pore sillie Armie with this pretenc : thay did lie within 2 mile of vs in a braue Sauana full of Cattell. Now I shall retorne to the treattie, the time apoynted being come for them to sine but they ware very vnwilling to doue it, but seing noe help for it they did sine the Artickles : and we did kep all those that had sined in custodie, thinking that by that they would see all things performed for thayer oune sackes. But one of the Chefest of them, being more sutell then the rest, did plead hard that he might goe vpon his parroule, and that he could work much upon the peopell to bring them into vs, and vpon his many vous and prodistation of being true to what he had sined to, Gennerall Venabeles did lett him goe vpon his parroule. Now this spaniard did know what would kep our sillie Armie quiat, and hee did daylie send in Cattell More or Les to vs, and whilest our Armies were eating of befe, this Spaniard which did goe vpon his parroule did ease all the ennimies to mount them selues and all thayer goodes a horsback, and soe fled vp into the Mountaines whar thay remaine. But our Armie did not know they ware gon, but lay locking when thay would send more Cattell into them : but the ennimie failing them to dayes together, and thay being all most starued did send forth a partie to see what wos become of them, and thay finding them all gon did retorne to macke the Gennerall aquainted of it, which att the nuse wos very blank to see how baslie thay had cosened him. Now all our Armie was left in a very sad condichon, being lef like a child that cannot hardlie goe to shift for himselue, for the ennemie had fed them very short all this time ; and the beter part of them ware all most starued : for the ennimie would be shore to send plentie of all things into the Genneralls oun quarters and

sume of the Rest of the Chefe of the Armie, and when thay had plentie the souldgers might complaine and starue and none regard It. For Gennerall Venabeles had made an order, that vpon paine of Death noe man should goe aboue halfe a mile out of his quarters to fech in any prouisons, and if any did it wos taken away from him, and the partie put into prison and tried for his life. Now the reson that Gennerall Venabeles did giue forth this order wos, that ye Armie would destroy and spoyle all the plantations, If it were not for this order. But he said he would make the ennimie to bring in prouisons anufe to sarue all the Armie : and soe they did bring sume most dayes vntell thay fled away : but thay did not bring aboue 150 when thay broght most, which wose not aboue one for a Company : and the Capt. would haue the Ribes, and the Lift and Insine the serlines, and by that time that all the rest of the Ofisors were sarued thar would hardlie remaine a pound a pece for the souldgers, and that wos all thay had ; many times for to or thre dayes thay had no bred, nor nothing to drink but water ; this was thayer condichon vntell the enniemie did flie away from them : and then they had none. Soe by this Means within 12 dayes after our landing they could not droe out 50 men out vpon saruis, wheras when they landed most of the Company ware 100 men ; But what with want of prouision and Good drink they fell into the Bluddie flux, and many did die of It : for It was much if one saw 3 men, and if 2 of them could help themselfes. Now our Armie did not any wayes striue to louck any fardor, for I doue belefe that the Head of them wos glad that the ennemie wose fled away : now thay did begin to send parties out to fech in prouisons, But they could not bring it in half soe fast as the Armie could haue eaten It. But now thos spaniards which did treat with vs doue begin to bee afraid of thayer neckes, becas the Artikelles ware not performed which thay had sined to : But the Gouernor which I spoke of before, that wos soe much eaten out with the pox, Lay in such a very sad condichon for want of a surgeon, for he wos soe roten that none of our Surgeons would come neare him : soe that we ware in hopes he would saue the Hangman a labor.

Now our Armie did begin to share the Land and plantations, Neueor minding to bild any fort, or make any place of strenth of resistanc for any enniemie that should come against vs. But done think as the spaniards did that none doth dare to come against them : But I wish that thayer presumption doue not vndoue them, as it did

the spaniards. Now our Gennerall gaue Command that our ship, and the parrigon, and all the flemesh shipes should Carene, and make all redie to sayle within 10 dayes, and thos ships that had aboue six wekes prouisions abord of them thay ware ordered to put it abord of sume of the Frigates which ware to stay behind vs : and this six wekes prouisions wos all we ware to haue to carrie vs for England. But the Gennerall ordered all the shipes to goe to half Louane of Meat and Drink. Wee making all the hast that could be to fit our Ship for the Carene, and the Discouery being ordered to come abord of vs to tacke in our gunes, which she did, and wee hauing put abord 24 of our louer teare of gunes and most of our Bosswain and Carpentors stors, and Night droing neare wee cased her to hall of from vs, and to come to an Anckor neare vs, which wos don : and about 2 ouers after shee put of from our side It pleased god that she tucke a fier in her Bred Roume among the Brandie Wine. She now riding in the Midell of the flette, all the Shipes sent thayer boates and men abord to help to quench the fier. But the Brandie did burne soe cruell and fervent that the men war not abell to stay any longer to heaue water : But the Botes did toe her fast aground vpon a banck or shoule to luard of the flet, but as she burnt she did liten, and droue right with vs againe, soe that wee ware in great Dainger of her coming among our flete againe. But the Lord wos pleased to cas the wind to veare about, which did kep her of from vs, other wayes she would haue bin abord of vs : for noe man durst dare goe neare her to kep her ofe from vs, for She had 120 Barilles of pouder abord, and wee did look euery minnit when she would Blow vp, but she burnt at the least 4 ouers before she did Blow up, she lieing then not aboue Carbin shot from vs. It wos a very sad Bloue, and had the Lord sufered the wind to haue bloune to vs, as it did from vs, Shee had destroied most of our flett. Now all care was how we might doue get our 24 Bras dimme canon, which ware sunk in 3 fadham and ½ water : But one Cap^t. Fearnss did vnder tacke for the geting of them vp, and he casing a tub for the mend to goe doune in, and got 3 very Good diuers to help him, and in 12 dayes thay got all ourors vp, and 2 of the Discoueries gunes to be sides : and now our ship was redie Corened to taicke them in againe : this did much reioys our men, for wee war fearfull that wee should not gett them againe. Now our Champone Like Armie did still remaine in that sad condichon of Being half starued, for all heare wose such a plentie of Cattell ; But thay

could not cach them : and the Armie still much vissited with sicknes. But thayer Gennerall now had a longing desieor to goe for England : But not knowing how wellcome hee should be when he did come thar it did put him to a stand : But it is thoght that hee will not be long after vs: his ladie doth remaine with him, But the Armie is very much awery of her, but cannot tell how thay may be rid of her, for she doth Act veric high.

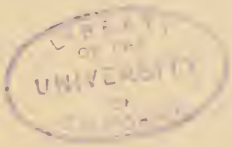
Our Flet being redie to sayle the Gennerall gaue Commission to Vice Admirall Goodson to be Admirall of this Squaderen that he had ordered to stay in the Iindiaes, thay being 12 sayle of frigattes, thay are to kep sayling to and againe in the Ii[n]dges, and to take all spaniyards and french what soeeuer, and not to retorn for England vntell he should receue orders from me Lord Protector.

Now I shall giue you the Best account of this Iland that posibell I can. The land is as good as any is in the Indges, and very frutfull If it be planted, but theas pepoel are a uery Lasie pepell, for by thayer good willes none will worke, nor take the paines to pland Cassador to macke them bred. But nessitie doth moue them to it : thay doue very feue of them tacke care to be rich, for thay say that thay cannot wont, for Meate thay haue an abundant, and the hids and talow will by them clos, and that is all thay take care for most of them : hear ar sume small plantations of Shouger, But they spend It most in the Illand : hear is sume Cottaine, both silk and other sortes : But the Chefest Commoditees ar theas : Ling a Vittie and fastick woud, and hides and talow, and porke fat tried vp and put in gares : and that is not worth a going soe far for. The Iland as it is natuorallie the Best in all the Indges : it hath a great deale of Leuill ground, and many braue Sauanas full of Cattell, and abundat of braue Horses, But thay are all wild : and many wild hoges : and wild foull an abundant : a many parrates : and Muckeas : and plentie of fich : heare are abundant of Alliegators and many larg snakes. This ground will bare anything that they can plant one it : the spaniyard doth say that it will bare all sorts of spices, and Shugor, and Indico, and Cottaine, and tobaco, and very good grapes : but the Ducke of Meden that it did belong to would not sufer them to plant grapes to macke wine, for then he did know they would not care for Spaine. This Illand is Brauelie watered with fresh riufers : and hath 3 braue harbors in the South side, and one in the North side : But the midellmust in the South Side is one of the Best in the Wordell : in it

may ride 500 sayle of ships from 50 fadham water to 8 : and you may Corene by the shore with your gones in 5 fadham water ; this harbor is land locked, and the trad wind doth blow into the harbor all day and the Land bres out att night : hear are many small Ilands and shoules that lie before the Harbors mouth, But they are plaine to be sene. The worst Ileonuenience of this Harbor is that it is 6 mile from the Toune, But our English doth say that they will remoue and Bild near the water side, for thay may Bild such a Toune as that is in a small time, for the houses are but one storie height Becas of the Harrie Cane, for he doth many times com and giue them a vissit. This is all I can say of this Iland, for at present it is pore, But it may be made one of the riches spotes in the wordell ; the Spaniard doth call it the Garden of the Indges, But this I will say, the Gardeners haue bin very bad, for heare is very litell more then that which groweth naterallie.

June the 21*st Daye* 1655.—Thursday. This day wee waied with the Moring Brese, but could not get forth by reson of the Sea Bres Comming in soe soune, But we came to anacker without the Harbors mouth amongst the Shoules, and thar did ride vntell the 25th daye, by reson that the wind kept all the time out att Sea.

This Moring the Gennerall Commanded that the Gun should be fiered att 2 a clock for the flete to waie, and att 5 aclock all our flett was vnder sayle and got forth, but the Mariegould and the Good fellow run aground vpon a leg of rockes that lie of one of the littell Ilands goeing out of the Westermust Channell, thar wee left them Beating on the rockes, and fearing that thay would not gett off. This moring nus wos broght that Gennerall Venabeles wos dead, but we could not giue credit to it, but of sartaine hee did lie verie sick, and the doctors war fearfull that he would die. All this day wee stud away Weast in sight of the Iland, and soe continued all Night : faier wether and the wind fresh at East.



APPENDIX F

Papers relating to the Conquest of Jamaica, from the unpublished portion of Thurloe's MSS.

I

A Spanish Proclamation [1]

The Captane and Sarginge Mager Don Baltearsor Caldoron and Spenoso, Nopte [2] to the Presedente that is now in the sity of Santo-domingo, and Captane of the gones of the sitye, and Governor and Lorde Mare of this Iland, and stranch of this Lland of Turtogo, and Chefe Comander of all for the Khinge of Spaine.

Yoo moust understand that all pepell what soever that shall com to this Iland of the Khinge of Spaine Catholok wich is name is Don Pilep the Ostere the forth of this name, that with his harmes he hath put of Feleminge and French men and Englesh with lefee heare from the yeare of 1630 tell the yeare of the yeare of thurty fouer and tell the yeare of fifte four in wich the Kinge of Spane uesenge all curtysi and given good quartell to all that was upon this Iland, after that came and with oute Recepet upon this Iland knowinge that the Kinge of Spane had planted upon it and fortified in the name of the Kinge came the forth time the 15 of Augost the laste yeare Frinch and Fleminges to govern this Iland the same Governeore that was heare befor his name was Themoleon hot man De founttana gentlaman of the ourder of Guresalem for to take this Iland put in fources by se and land and forsed us to beate him oute of this place with a greate dale of shame, and be caues yoo shall take notis that wee have puelld doune the Casill and carid all the gonenes and have puelld doune all

[1] Rawlinson MSS. A 29, f. 500. In February 1656 a small ship touching at the Tortugas found the island deserted and two papers, one in Spanish, 'the other in sorrie English.' This paper was sent by Goodson to Thurloe, it being a proclamation against settlement on the island. The original is written in a very difficult hand.

[2] 'Nopte' is doubtless a mistake for 'nepote,' that is, nephew.

the houes and have lefte no thinge, the same Captane and Sargintmager in the name of the Kinge wich God blesh hath given yoo notis that what souer nason souer that shall com to live upon this Iland that thare shall not a man mother nor chilldren cape of the sorde, thare fore I give nottis to all pepell that thay shall have a care with out anye more notis for this is the order of the Kinge and with out fall you will not want yooer Pamente [1] and this is the furst and second and thorde time, and this whe leave heare for them that comes hear to take notis, that when wee com upon you, you shall not pleate that you dod not know is riten the 25 of August 1655.

Baltesar Calderon	Por Mandado del Señor Gou^{or}
y Espinosa.	Pedro Fran^{co} de riva deneyxasuss.

[Endorsed :] Paper found upon Tortudas.

II

The Protector to General Monck [2]

Sir,

Before this comes to your hands, it is probable Lt. Col. Brayne will have beene with you, and given you an accompt of some counsells had here concerninge the West Indyes (he being instructed in that behalfe), we haveing acquainted him therewith in order to his goeing thither, and taking upon him the charge and conduct of the forces in those partes. Wee will not trouble you from hence with a more particular informacion herein, other then to acquaint you that we have determined of sending thither out of Scotland and Ireland 1200 men, and 500 of that number out of Scotland, to goe along with Col. Brayne, and to be imploy'd in pursuance of those intencions of ours which he will communicate to you. And forasmuch as there is very pressing occasion that all expedicion bee used in prepareing of these forces, and putting them under good conduct in respect of officers, and that choice be made of such soldiers as have given good testimony of their courage, resolucion, and obedience, wee doe recommend it to you in a more particular manner to afford your endeavours not onely for the dispatch of this service, but that the officers and souldyers be such as we may hope (through the mercy and blessing of God) will carry

[1] *I.e.* 'pasamento,' that is, death.

[2] Rawlinson MS. A 55, f. 126.

themselves well, both in point of courage and fidelitie. For the better encouragement of officers we have given power to Lieut^t. Col. Brayne to appoint and preferr (by your advice) such out of the severall regimentes and companyes as shalbe judged fittest for that service. And the better to incourage souldiers to goe togeather in this expedicion, we have given him power (with your advise also) to take such whole companyes, or partes of companyes, as shalbe found willing and fitt for the worke, wherin we desire you to give him your assistance, and to issue your orders and direccions for putting in speedy execucion what shalbe so agreed uppon by you. We have had consideracion of the most commodious place for the rendezvous and shipping, and have resolved upon Port Patrick as most convenient, both in order to their voyage and their joyneing with the rest of the said forces, which are to be raised in Ireland, and are appointed to be shipped at Knockfergus. We apprehend it would have been much for the advantage of this affaire in point of tyme and lessening of charge, if ships could have been procured in Scotland for ther transportacion. But not thinking fitt to depend in that, we have treated for ships to be sent from hence, which we hope may be in Scotland to receive the forces aboord, within a moneth from the date hereof, yet if you shall find that fitt ships may be provided in Scotland within convenient tyme, we desire you to agree with them, (giveing us speedy notice thereof, that we may accordingly proceed with the merchants here) in which case we suppose you may not onely save tyme, but also charge, we being here to give six pounds per head, (because they must goe from hence to take them in, and so make in some sort a double voyage) wheras probably you may gett them there for iiij^li per head.

[1656]

III

The Protector to Lieut. Col. Brayne [1]

Sir,

Since you left this place wee have given direccions to Generall Monke to be assistant to you, for putting in execucion those things which wee discoursed with you here, as you may see by the copie of our letter to him herewith sent; and for the more full and effectuall carying on of that business, wee doe hereby authorize you to nominate

[1] Rawlinson MS. A 56, p. 27.

and appoint such officers for this service, as by advise had with Generall Monke you shall judge fittest for the imployment. (Onely wee recomend to you Majour Brampston for your Lieutenant Colonel, of whose fidelity wee have had very good assurance, and who shalbe dispatched to you with all possible speed). As also, (by like advise), to draw out with the officers, such companies, in part, or in whole (to compleate the whole number of five hundred private souldyers) as you shall judge fittest. Wee doubt not but the discourses you heard here will sufficiently satisfy you of the necessity of expedicion in this matter, and therefore shall not needlessly call upon you therein. If you shall judge Port Patrick, the place appoynted for shippinge them,[1] not to be convenient, and can offer a better, wee desire to know it by the next returne, that other direccion may be given. I have writt to my sonn Harry to put the other part of the forces (which are to goe from Ireland) into the same readiness, that they may be at Knockfergus about the same tyme that you may probably be at Port Patrick (which wee hope wilbe within a moneth at farthest). At which place the Comaunders of the ships shalbe instructed to observe such further orders, as shalbe from tyme to tyme given them by you as their Comaunder in Cheife. If you could be able to come up hither, and returne backe to the shipping of your forces, without loss of tyme to this affaire, wee should be glad of further comunicacion with you concerning it before your goeing away; But feareing you will not be able to performe such a journy in tyme, without hazard to the stay of the forces, wee have appoynted your comission and instruccions to be drawne up, intending to send them to Port Patrick by some safe hand, who may also be able to give you a further accompt of our intencions; and of the tyme when to expect him there, you shall hereafter receive more particular notice, as wee are from tyme to tyme enformed by you of the probability of your being in readyness there. Yet if you shall, upon good grounds judge that you may leave your business in such a posture with your Lieutenant Colonel that your comeing up may be no delay to the forces, and that you may returne back in due tyme, we desire you to signify soe much to us by the next post, and soe to take your owne tyme to come up accordingly.

[1656]

[Endorsed.] The Protector's letter about an expedition to the West Indies.

[1] 'Rendezvous' is suggested in the MS. as an amendment.

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